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B. A. TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, M. A. AND PH. DR. HEIDELBERG;  
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## PREFACE.

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THE progress of historical science renders it necessary that the books of instruction, in this as in other departments, should be renewed from time to time, so as to be on a level with the demands of the age. If the old text-books should continue to be used in schools, while adult readers consult the latest authorities, much of what the youth attains would require to be unlearned, and his time would be comparatively wasted.

The department of Scottish history especially demands that the improved views of the latest writers should be imparted to the pupil from the very beginning of his historical studies. A great portion of that early history in which our fathers believed has been rejected as fabulous. To the succeeding but still remote ages a stricter method of investigation has been applied, and evidence derived from authentic sources has been substituted for vague tradition. In later times, a calm and rigid investigation of the truth has taken the place of prejudice and passion. While the earlier writers of history seemed to think that they were bound to make that of their country coincide with their own preconceived notions, the later and more enlightened principle is an adherence to truth above all things. As history has been called philosophy teaching by example, the example must be truly stated, otherwise it may teach what is false.

To arrive at unbiassed truth in the following narrative, recourse has been had to the critical investigations which have

from time to time ranged over the several periods of Scottish history. At the commencement of the present century the antiquaries or archæologists began a rigid inquiry into the earlier period, and their investigations have been continued by their successors. Subsequently the middle period has been the subject of an ample narrative; and very recently the historical events and the national progress down to the last great incident in Scottish history—the Rebellion of 1745—have undergone a strict scrutiny. Of all these sources of information, an endeavour has been made on this occasion to take full advantage, so that the learner may, it is hoped, obtain a complete history of Scotland, in which justice has been done to all parties, and a due portion of narrative given to each event and period.

EDINBURGH, *August* 1854.

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# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

Physical Character, and its Connexion with History—Influence of Geological Peculiarities of Scotland—Highlands and Lowlands—Ancient State of the Agricultural Districts—Mineral Productions—Fisheries—Physical Changes since the earliest Habitation—Earliest known Inhabitants—The Druids—Existing Vestiges of the early Inhabitants—The Stone, Bronze, and Iron Periods.

#### 1. PHYSICAL CHARACTER, AND ITS CONNEXION WITH HISTORY.

—The mainland of Scotland lies between the 54th and 59th degrees of northern latitude; the islands attached to it stretching northwards beyond the 60th degree. The more minute particulars of its position on the globe, and local character and divisions, belong to the department of geography; but some of the main physical peculiarities of the country have had so much influence on its history, as to suggest that they should be connected with the narrative of events.

From the peculiar shape of this part of Great Britain, there is scarcely a spot in it fifty miles from the sea; whence it happens that the country is not liable to the extreme cold in winter and the heat in summer which affect places on the Continent lying in the same latitude. Moscow in Russia, where deep snow settles down in October or early in November, is about as far north as Edinburgh. Considerable portions of Norway and Sweden, where in winter the ground never loses its covering of snow, are in the same degree of north lati-

tude with the Highlands; while in Canada, no portion of which is so far north as the southern extremity of Scotland, the settlers are compelled to make special preparations for encountering the severity of winter. At the same time, the heat of summer is never so excessive as it is in continental districts lying much farther north.

The same moderate temperature affects the waters; which, both in the open sea and in the many inlets that penetrate the country, are never frozen. Thus, at all the harbours of Scotland—even those within rivers—vessels may arrive and depart at seasons when the principal ports of the Baltic, with others in Northern Germany and even in Holland, are closed by ice. The temperature and weather are extremely variable; so that the soil is properly available only for timber, grasses, and the hardier grains. In one or two places, such as the Carse of Gowrie and Clydesdale, there are considerable orchards of apples; but the production of fruit has never been an important element in the national wealth of the country, and it has been more an amusement and luxury to the affluent than a source of public riches.

2. INFLUENCE OF GEOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES.—The different characters of the soil in the several divisions of the country, founded on geological structure, have been of material importance in its history. Wherever we observe in the same territory one people active and industrious, and another living in idleness, or preferring war and hunting to the arts of peace, we invariably find that the former press their neighbours out of all the lands applicable for industrial purposes, and leave them only those which are barren and suitable for defence and the chase. It is natural that it should be so; for the available land is of much greater value to those who can use it than to those who cannot, and they will make greater efforts to obtain it. Hence it is that the warlike hunters of North America have had gradually to retire before the industrious, civilized Europeans, who wanted the unemployed ground that they might devote it to productive purposes.

HIGHLANDS AND LOWLANDS.—The same phenomenon has evidently at one time taken place in Scotland. If we divide the country by a line drawn from the Frith of Clyde, through the middle of Lochlomond, northward by Dunkeld, and thence in a straight direction to Inverness, we sever on the north and west the Highlands from the Lowlands. With the exception of a comparatively small and isolated dis-

trict in Ross and Caithness, where lowland farmers live, the Highlands consist of chains of rugged mountains, with fertile land only in the straths or valleys through which the rivers flow.

None of these mountains are within the line of perpetual congelation, though some of them are so near to it as to be cold enough to retain snow in the hollows near their tops throughout the summer. They consist either of granite, porphyry, or other rocks which are not stratified, or of gneiss, mica slate, and other masses which are called primary or metamorphic rocks, because they are supposed to have been changed from the condition of ordinary stratified deposits through the action of fire. Whatever may have been their origin, they are often hard and unfruitful. The mica slate being of a twisted and contorted character, makes the wild grotesque scenery of the Western Highlands particularly remarkable in the far-famed Trossachs at Loch Katrine. The granite, notwithstanding its hardness, is liable to be split into immense fissures, bounded by enormous precipices, such as are seen in the Cairngorm mountains in Aberdeenshire. But by far the largest part of the Highlands, if not of Scotland, consists of gneiss, which naturally lies in hollows or rounded elevations. It forms the broad monotonous mountains of the interior of the North Highlands; and as its character prevents the waters from flowing freely away, they stagnate in the hollows, and thus make the dreary bogs with which so much of the country is covered. In the islands along the west coast, which are of the same character, and in many parts of the mainland, the wild storms which sweep from the Atlantic render it hopeless to rear crops. Pasture, which can only support a thin population, is the best use to which the soil can be applied; and, since that has been discovered, the class of people who have made the Lowlands available for agricultural purposes have been laying out sheep-farms in the Highlands.

When we find that there was in the country a peculiar people averse to labour, fond of hunting and fighting, and more apt to plunder the property of others than to raise crops for themselves, it naturally follows that this barren territory would fall to their lot, and that their industrious neighbours would keep possession of the more productive portion of the soil. Hence we have the physical division of Scotland into Highlands and Lowlands, corresponding with a like division

in the character of the inhabitants. That a people of the same Celtic race as the Highlanders once possessed the flat countries of the East and South, is proved by the Celtic names of places still in use. And at whatever distant period it may have occurred, the same depopulating process must have taken place which deprived the Indians of the territories now occupied by the United States of America.

These Highland territories were admirably suited for defence in uncivilized times and before the use of artillery ; and, as the landowners and farmers in their neighbourhood knew to their cost, depredators found them admirable places of retreat. The entrance to them from the Lowlands is generally by some deep cleft forming the water-course of a stream ; and as the level of the lower portion does not ascend so rapidly as that of the banks on either side, which rise suddenly to the height of mountains, the pass is generally between two walls of rock or extremely steep and rugged elevations, where a few men could defend themselves against hundreds or thousands. Hence the inhabitants of those wilds were safe within their fastnesses, until roads were made through them and forts were built. At the same time the peculiar nature of the west coast made it remarkably suitable for piratical expeditions, the sea-king or ocean-robber having his inaccessible fortress on a rock within some winding loch, to which he could retreat with his galleys after plundering the fruitful districts in his neighbourhood.

3. ANCIENT STATE OF THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS.—It was not, however, until agriculture had made some progress that the lowland country could be greatly distinguished in character from the highland. The most fertile parts of Scotland, such as the Lothians, Lanarkshire, and Forfarshire, must have possessed a totally different character at the time of the Roman invasion from that now enjoyed by them. The fruitfulness of Scotland is, like that of other northern nations, entirely artificial. The various grains,—the potato, and other vegetables now produced so abundantly,—have all been introduced by artificial culture. Excepting hazel-nuts, and the cranberries and other wild fruit still to be found in moorland districts, the soil left to nature never produced anything fit for the food of man. Even for animals there was but a scanty supply of the coarsest grass ; and their chief food must have been, as it is with game at the present day, wild berries, sprigs of heather, and the tender shoots of the pine,

along with a more abundant supply of acorns and other seeds of trees.

Places now covered with rich pastures or large wheatfields, must once have been vast moors or quaking bogs, such as the moors of Rannoch and Carnwath at the present time. Some parts of the country may in their desolation have been perhaps more picturesque than they are now, since doubtless they were covered with thick forests of dwarf oak, pine, and birch. The remains of such primeval forests have not yet entirely disappeared, and among the glens near Braemar, and in other parts of the central Highlands, patches of the great Caledonian forest may still be seen almost as it existed in the time of the Romans.

Nothing shows the effective civilisation of a country better than the extirpation of its beasts of prey. The wolf is still known in the north of Europe, and even in France, Italy, and Spain; but it has disappeared from Scotland since the Revolution. The wild boars, which roamed in numbers in the Caledonian forests, were exterminated at a much earlier period. Whether the bear ever existed in the country seems to be doubtful. Horses, probably of a very small size, such as Shetland and Highland ponies, seem to have been possessed by the inhabitants from the earliest periods; the most ancient sculptured stones found in Scotland showing the use both of horses and vehicles in war and hunting. Wild cattle also were found in the woods, and are supposed to have been of the same beautiful kind as the pure white animals still to be seen in the forest of Cadzow at Hamilton. The most considerable relics of the ancient wild animals of Scotland are the large red deer in the Highland forests, as the places are termed which are kept up for the purpose of hunting; but were they not in some measure artificially preserved for the sake of sport, it is probable that they also would soon disappear.

While the low country as well as the Highlands was originally covered with forest and moss, and was the resort of wild beasts, it contained under its rough exterior the elements of riches for an enlightened and industrious people. The geological structure, instead of the primary rocks of the Highlands, generally consist of sandstone and other rocks which have been formed mechanically by deposition from water, and lie in strata nearly unaltered. They are more easily decomposed than the mountain-rocks, and thus enter more readily into the composition of productive soil, while they contain lime, and

other substances capable of materially aiding productiveness. These strata are extensively penetrated by masses of igneous rocks, which are believed to have been formed by the agency of heat, and to have come up in a molten state through the stratified rocks, amidst which they form abrupt elevations of a very distinct character. Arthur's Seat and the castle rock of Edinburgh, the castle rock of Stirling, and that of Dumbarton, are specimens of this formation. It abounds in the Lowlands, and is generally known by the name of trap; and though very hard and compact, it produces, from its chemical qualities, when decomposed, a very fertile soil, of which the corn lands of a large portion of Fifeshire and the Lothians are in a great measure composed.

4. MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.—Besides its influence on the fertility of the soil, the geological structure of the country has had a farther influence on the history and fate of Scotland. When the people had made so much progress as to build stone edifices, the materials for them were easily found. Doubtless it was long before the stone was excavated, for it is a difficult operation to remove portions of compact masses, even from the soft sandstone rock. The earliest stone buildings would probably be constructed of the fragments lying abundantly on the surface of the ground, which geologists call boulders, and which are still too abundant in the less fertile parts of the country. After these, wood, turf, or mud, would perhaps be employed in the flat carse lands, and others where stone was not readily procured. Indeed, in some of these there still exist houses of dried mud; and in the Highlands turf huts abound. There is, however, no portion of Scotland many miles distant from serviceable building-stone: and, perhaps, in no other country in the world does this material enter so largely into the structure of all kinds of buildings. Over the greater portion of England, and this includes London, brick or baked clay is chiefly used in the erection of houses and walls. So it is in Holland, where indeed stone edifices, being too heavy for the swampy soil, have been sometimes found to sink through it. In Germany, Switzerland, and many other parts of the Continent, the majority of the dwelling-houses are constructed of timber, mud, or brick. The ease with which stone is procured in Scotland seems to have established it as the national building material, while the English have adopted brick; and so complete is the difference, that though in some places granite or porphyry only are at hand,—and they are very costly from

their extreme hardness,—yet they are used in preference to brick, as we may see in the granite city of Aberdeen, and other towns in the north.

Thus the geological formation has had a material influence, not only in raising the many feudal castles to be found throughout Scotland, but in giving their peculiar character to its towns and rural abodes. Few ornamental stones of much importance have been found in the country. There are marbles, but they are merely coloured building-stones, and are not available for purposes of art. A few gems have been discovered among the primitive rocks, such as the topaz and the amethyst, but these are extremely rare, and seldom of great value. Rock crystal, sometimes beautifully stained, has also been found in considerable abundance among the Cairngorm mountains, whence it has derived its name. It was used for brooches and other ornaments before there was a commerce in foreign stones, and is still prized; but it is not entitled to be deemed a considerable element in the national riches. The pearl, which does not properly belong to the mineral productions of a country, has been coupled with the cairngorm as a valuable gem. Pearls worth a considerable sum have been found in the Ythan and other northern streams; but though sometimes the pearl-fishery has been spoken of as likely to be an important source of local wealth, it has never been very productive or valuable.

5. A considerable quantity of silver has been extracted from the lead mines in the Ochil chain, and in the mountainous district at the head of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire. Gold, too, has been collected from the sands in the mountain-region. If all that has ever been extracted were placed in a heap, it might perhaps make a considerable fortune; but it would be found on inquiry that far more money was expended in obtaining it than it is worth, and therefore gold mining has not been a productive pursuit in Scotland. It is true that the earliest workers in metals seem to have worked in gold, and that thus many of the metallic ornaments of the primitive inhabitants of Scotland, which have presently to be mentioned, were made of this precious metal. But it is a peculiarity of gold, that it keeps together when all the other materials of the rocks in which it is embedded crumble to dust, and it is then found in little lumps or “nuggets,” often close to the surface of the earth: thus very naturally false notions are formed of the facility with which more gold may



be found in such quarters. Copper has been worked in Scotland from a very early period, as we shall see when the weapons and tools of the early inhabitants are mentioned. There are considerable lead mines near the Border. The great metallic wealth of Scotland is, however, the ironstone, found abundantly in the Middle and Lower Wards of Lanarkshire, and in the shires of Ayr, Linlithgow, Clackmannan, and Fife. On this also the history of the arms and other instruments of the early inhabitants must be referred to; and it will be there seen that the time when iron began to be used in Scotland extends far beyond historic records.

Along with this metal, however, is generally to be found a mineral of hardly less importance, namely, coal. The area of the coal measures corresponds with that of the deposits of iron, and stretches beyond them,—the mineral used for burning being far more extensive than the beds from which the metal is extracted. Coal must have been used at a very early period in Scotland,—how early is not known; but Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was born about the year 1400, and became pope of Rome with the title of Pius II., mentioned, as if it were an almost incredible thing, that the people of Scotland, whom he visited, made fires of a kind of black stone. It would be almost impossible to say how much this mineral has contributed to the advancement of the country. In the wild mountain-districts distant from the coal-fields, fuel has been procured sometimes from the forests, but chiefly from the turf in the bogs. Saturated with the chemical element called tannin, which alike stops decay and fructification, masses of vegetable matter have thus been formed into thick cakes, and have been taken out in small blocks, generally called peats, to be dried and used as fuel. But, however comfortably the peat has sometimes warmed the mountaineer's cottage, who easily obtains it, it has been of trifling value in comparison with the coal-seams, of far more difficult attainment.

6. FISHERIES.—In a general consideration of the raw materials out of which the inhabitants of Scotland could improve their condition, the fisheries are deserving of mention as well as the coal. The herds and flocks and the fine wheat-fields now seen in this country are artificial productions of the enterprise of later days; but the fish in the seas and rivers may be supposed to have been at least as abundant before the invasion of the Romans as they are now. Some kinds of fish indeed are known to have fallen off within the memory of man. The

salmon has become less frequent in the rivers and narrow seas since the plan of preserving its flesh in ice was discovered, and it goes to London and other great markets, instead of being consumed in Scotland. The lobsters and some of the rarer kinds of fish are disappearing in the same manner; and undoubtedly the whale enters our friths less frequently than it did two thousand years ago. Of the capricious visits of the herring no one can speak distinctly, but it is supposed that the main shoal, issuing annually from the polar regions, separates at the northern extremity of Scotland, and comes in droves, more or less extensive, along both coasts. This valuable fish is so easily caught, that one can hardly imagine a time when the men who floated in canoes or on rafts in the friths of Scotland, did not also take them. They have chiefly frequented the wild coasts of the Highlands. Though many efforts have been made to encourage the people in these distant regions to catch them, yet it is not wonderful to find that this mine of wealth has been chiefly appreciated by the industrious inhabitants of the low country, alive to every means of bettering their condition by industry and enterprise; and that they have been found to be the portion of the population which has at all times chiefly taken advantage of the great herring shoals.

7. PHYSICAL CHANGES SINCE THE EARLIEST HABITATION.—Referring again to the general aspect of the country in early times, late researches have shown that it was not only different in appearance while inhabited by primeval races, but even in extent and outline, portions being then under water and navigated which are now covered with fine farms. By what geological operation the change has taken place, whether by the subsidence of the waters or the elevation of the land, is uncertain. The places where it is clear that it occurred after human occupation are the flat lands, generally called carse. The larger rivers commonly flow into a frith or estuary, as that of the Forth, the Tay, and the Clyde. But above each estuary there generally runs far into the interior of the country, and on each side of the river, a tract of flat clay or peat soil, a great portion of which, such as the Carse of Gowry, was, in the infancy of agriculture, held to be the richest land in Scotland, because it was the most easily cultivated. But it would appear, from remains found in them, that these carses were formerly continuations of the friths, which thus extended much farther inland than at present.

Thus, during the operations for removing the coating of moss in the Blair-Drummond Carse, above the Frith of Forth, there was found at the distance of a mile from the river, and twenty-five feet above the full tide, the skeleton of a whale; and others have been discovered in like situations. It is likely that the country was then inhabited by men; for, in two of the instances, the remains of a harpoon were found beside the whale; the weapon having been probably stuck in the body of the gigantic fish, which had died at a distance from its pursuer. These harpoons were made of deer-horn; and one of them retained part of its wooden handle, preserved by the antiseptic nature of the moss in which it was embedded. But still stronger evidence of the presence of man in these dried-up seas has been brought to light; for in the same district, by the overflowing of the Carron, an ancient boat or canoe was laid bare. It was thirty-six feet long, and was cut out, like the canoes of the New Zealanders, of the solid trunk of an oak-tree. Near Perth and Glasgow, boats have been found deep in this sort of soil. But what proves the extreme antiquity of these relics, and of the people to whom they belonged, is, that many of the camps and other works which have been raised by the Romans, are situated in places where the primeval inhabitants of Scotland sailed about and caught fish.

8. EARLIEST KNOWN INHABITANTS.—The accounts which the Romans have given us of the inhabitants whom they found in the wilds of Scotland are extremely scanty; for these haughty conquerors did not condescend, like travellers of the present day, to describe the manners and customs of barbarians. The few notices, however, correspond with the nature of the country, excepting in one respect, that the people are said to have been totally destitute of clothing,—a state in which it is difficult to believe that human beings could have lived in so cold a climate. At the same time, they are said to have possessed war-chariots, and to have had for weapons daggers, shields, and a kind of short spear, with a brazen rattle at the end of it, which they would shake at the enemy in triumph or defiance. The author who makes these statements, Dion Cassius, a writer of the third century, states that they had no cities; that they did not cultivate the ground, but lived by hunting; and that their families were promiscuously mixed together, without the domestic unions and separations which distinguish christian civilisation. He could only say of their form of government that it was popular,—they probably had

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no form at all ; but the strongest in battle or in the chase would take the lead. He also described them as addicted to war and plunder.

THE DRUIDS.—It seems probable that the druidical religion, as Cæsar describes it in Gaul, extended to Scotland. This account forming an exception to the general negligence with which the Romans treated the customs of barbarians, has led some writers to think that it represents too complete a system of religion to have been really prevalent where there was so little civilisation. It appears that these Druids exercised a very absolute priestly control, separating themselves from the laity, of whom they deemed themselves the superiors. They were in this respect like the Brahmins and other priests of oriental nations ; but with this great difference, that they were not a separate caste by descent, and that members of other orders were admitted into their priesthood. They had secrets known only to themselves, and are thus supposed, perhaps without foundation, to have possessed some learning and science. Their religious rites were the great mystery with which they overawed the people ; and the extent of their power, and of the popular superstition, is shown by their having been permitted to offer up human sacrifices.

9. EXISTING VESTIGES OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS.—The discoveries of antiquarians or archæologists, if not so complete, are at least more satisfactory than such vague accounts. Many of the things made or used by barbarous as well as civilized people fall into decay ; but others are of a permanent character, and remain to teach future generations the manners of the people of old, as from the remains of Nineveh recently brought to light, we learn the habits of the Ninevites of Scripture.

Among the most conspicuous of these remains in Scotland are the fortresses on the tops of hills. They consist of ramparts of stone or turf, sometimes one within another, to the number of four or five. The most remarkable are the two hills in Angushshire, called, from their appearance, the White and the Brown Caterthun, and the Barmkin or Barbican of Echt, in Aberdeenshire. This fortress is on the crest of a steep conical hill : it consists of five walls or ramparts of rough stone, of great thickness ; and as the area within the innermost covers an acre of ground, the labour of constructing five such walls on such a height must have been extreme. There are three gates or places of entrance ; but care has been

taken that the opening in one rampart should not communicate straight with that of the next, so as to admit an enemy. The manner, indeed, in which the entrances to some of these forts are flanked or defended, shows great skill. In some instances, the hill forts in Scotland are what is termed vitrified; that is, the stone of which they have been made is found to have been turned into a vitreous or glassy substance by the action of fire. One of the most remarkable specimens of these is on the steep conical hill of Craig-Phadric, near Inverness. When first observed, these vitreous masses were supposed to be the remains of volcanoes; but farther investigation showed that they were produced by the hand of man. It is much questioned whether they have been made accidentally, or were a method of rendering the wall compact by melting instead of cementing the stones.

It is not likely that the inhabitants possessed permanent houses at the time when these fastnesses were used; they probably dwelt in sheds or huts made of wood or turf. But some mysterious remains of underground edifices have been discovered in Scotland, which must have existed from a very early period. They are called *weems*, and are found chiefly in the north, where, in one place near the river Don, about fifty in one parish have been counted. They are entirely concealed, and are generally discovered by farmers wishing to remove projecting stones from their land. Large heavy flag-stones usually form the roofs of these subterranean chambers, two and sometimes three of which are connected together. They are about three or four feet high, the walls being built of large blocks of stone. The object of these cavernous recesses, and the time when they were built, are alike buried in mystery.

Throughout Scotland, as well as the rest of the British isles, large unhewn stones are among the most ancient existing monuments of the hand of man. It is impossible to form any conception of their age; but, with all their rude appearance, it is certain that great mechanical skill must have been necessary to fix these huge masses in the earth. In some places a solitary rude pillar projects from the ground; in others they enclose a circular space. The largest of these is the Circle of Stennes, or the Ring of Brodri in Orkney, enclosing an area of two acres and a half. Perhaps the next in size is at Classernish, in the island of Lewis; and other large groups are to be found in the northern counties. It might thus be supposed that they are entirely a feature of the northern regions of Britain,

were it not that the largest of all in the British empire is at Stonehenge, in Wiltshire; and there are also vast circles in the province of Brittany in France.

The origin of these monuments is buried in the most profound obscurity; and it is not known what great edifices or decorations of a less abiding character may have been connected with these massive stones. They are commonly called druidical circles, under the supposition that they were the temples in which the Druids performed their ceremonies and sacrifices; but this is mere conjecture. Some of the ancient northern annals allude to the stone-circle as the place where a prince might be in the habit of receiving his followers, or holding a court of justice; but we can only infer from this, that relics so remarkable appeared well adapted for such important purposes, not that such was the original object for which they were raised.

Single stones of various forms have been set up for some purpose now unknown, and the most remarkable of them are called rocking-stones, because they are so poised that a slight touch will make them swing, while it would require great mechanical force to overturn them. Stones, bearing marks of very ancient sculpture, are peculiar to Scotland: they are as mysterious in their origin as the druidical circles; and no one can tell their age. It is a curious circumstance that some of them contain representations evidently intended for elephants and other animals of a tropical character unknown to Scotland. It would also appear that some are of a date comparatively recent, as they present the symbols of Christianity.

10. THE STONE, BRONZE, AND IRON PERIODS.—The tools, weapons, coins, and other articles, permanent from their hardness, are sometimes the most instructive relics of the manners of the ancients. It has been of late customary to separate ancient northern history into three epochs, from the prevailing materials used in such construction. Some of these instruments are made of flint, agate, porphyry, and other stones which are at once hard, dense, and tough, but chiefly of flint. The largest number of articles of this kind, consisting of spear and arrow heads, knives and hatchets, have been found in the Scandinavian territories; but a considerable number have also been dug up in Scotland. The flint arrow-heads are of the ordinary shape of a dart with barbs. They are cut or chipped with such exquisite neatness and proportion, as to indicate considerable skill in the workmen, though the knowledge of materials

and their manufacture must have been very limited. These flint arrows also show that there must have been some commerce in those days, unless we are to suppose that they were all brought as the weapons of enemies, for they are to be found in the granite and gneiss districts, where there are no flints in the natural formation. It is not wonderful that the peasantry, when they turn up these mysterious little weapons with the plough, look on them with superstitious awe, and suppose them to be the darts of elves or fairies.

The use of copper, tin, and the precious metals, is generally discovered before that of iron, which requires a more scientific process both for purifying it and for working it by welding after it is obtained. Hence, the articles of copper, tin, silver, and gold, which have been found in the earth in Scotland, have been attributed to an earlier date than the few iron remains similarly dug up. Instruments like hatchets, which were probably used in war, are extremely common, and several spear and arrow heads, and short swords made of bronze or brass, have been discovered. Metals were of course more available than mere stone for personal decoration, and at last the ornamental stone came to be embedded in the metal, as they are in the jewellery of the present day. It is questioned whether the natives of Scotland invented the art of working metals, or derived it from the Romans. Certain it is that there have been found in that country bracelets, rings, and brooches of gold and silver, and sometimes of inferior metals, of very great antiquity. From a fancy which has pervaded many uncivilized nations, that the dead might desire to carry with them the objects of their pride and pleasure on earth, these ornaments seem to have been deposited in tombs; and hence it is that in cairns or barrows, they have been discovered mingled with the dust of those buried there. Some of the rings or amulets are supposed to have been money made in that shape, since Cæsar informs us that the Gauls had money in the shape of rings. These could easily be strung together in a chain; and as silver chains have been found of considerable weight, it is not improbable that in this shape an affluent Pictish gentleman might have kept his fortune.

#### EXERCISES.

1. In what important physical characters does Scotland differ from other northern countries? How does the difference affect navigation?
2. Mention the two great divisions of Scotland. What is the geological character of the Highlands? How is this character connected with the

habits of the people? Describe how it was that the Highland districts were formerly suited for defence.

3. Give a notion how far the present aspect of the Lowlands resembles that presented at the time of the Romans. What shows the progress of civilisation in Scotland? State the geological reason for the fertility of the Lowlands.

4. How is house-building in Scotland different from what it is in other countries? Are there many valuable gems to be found in the country? Of what kind are they?

5. What has been the nature of the gold and silver mining? What has been the real source of metallic wealth?

6. Give an account of the fisheries as a source of wealth.

7. How is it that Scotland is supposed to have changed in appearance since it was first inhabited? What are the reasons for believing that part of what is now land was once sea?

8. What nation do ancient writers give as the primitive inhabitants of Scotland? What is known about the Druids?

9. What are the most conspicuous remains of the ancient inhabitants? Give an account of these remains. What remains are there of peculiar ancient edifices? Give an account of the different kinds of ancient stone monuments.

10. What epochs have been named from different kinds of antiquities? What relics are there of the stone period? What is the nature of the metallic relics?

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## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE FIRST ROMAN INVASION TO THE DEATH OF THE MAID OF NORWAY, A.D. 80—1290.

*Agricola's Campaign—Battle of the Grampians—The Roman Walls—Lollius Urbicus, Severus, &c.—Fall of the Roman Empire—The several Natives, Picts, Scots, &c.—Absorption of the Tribes—Christianity; St Columba—Fictitious History of the Monarchy—Actual Commencement of the Monarchy—Connexion with the English Saxons—The Northmen—Extension of Territory—Duncan and Macbeth—Malcolm and Margaret—St David; Ecclesiastical Establishments—Influence of Rome—Quarrels with England—Malcolm IV.—Haco of Norway—Breaking of the Line of Succession.*

1. **AGRICOLA'S CAMPAIGN.**—The first authentic historical event in Scotland is the invasion of the country by the Roman general Julius Agricola, in the year 80 of the Christian era. Agricola had been sent by the Emperor Vespasian two years before to govern the Roman province of South Britain, when he determined to signalize himself by conquest among the wild tribes of the North. Of this expedition we fortunately possess a lively and striking account, written by his son-in-law, the great historian Tacitus. On his first entering



the country, the natives, taken by surprise, permitted him to march with little molestation as far as the Tay,—on seeing which, the Romans are said to have exclaimed, “Behold the Tiber!”—a very poor compliment to the beautiful Scottish river.

Agricola, a judicious soldier, contented himself in the meantime with making a chain of fortresses on the comparatively narrow neck of land between the Forth and the Clyde, thus forcing the natives, as it were, into another island. Still, with true Roman perseverance, he was resolved to annex to the empire the barbarous country beyond the barrier. This design was discovered by the natives, and, in the sixth year of the expedition—the fourth of his operations in Scotland—he heard that a formidable combination of the tribes had been formed against him, and that their united army had been placed under a chief whose name, as latinized by the Roman historian, was Galgacus. Tacitus says that his forces amounted to 30,000 men; but it is scarcely credible that so large an army should have been at that period collected in Scotland. It appears that they were by no means a contemptible enemy, for a party of them attacked the ninth legion in their camp, and were with difficulty prevented from carrying it by surprise from the conquerors of the world.

BATTLE OF THE GRAMPIANS.—Agricola, determined to strike a decisive blow, invaded the northern or Caledonian district; while the fleet, keeping near the coast, accompanied the army in its march. A battle was fought at a place called by the historian Tacitus Mons Grampius. It would be vain to search for its native name, as the Roman author would pay but little attention to its distinct sound or sense, although perhaps the Latin designation may have been derived from it. As the Scottish historians and earliest geographers gave the name of Grampian Mountains to the chief range of hills in Scotland, it is impossible to ascertain, from the locality mentioned in Tacitus, on what part of the chain the engagement took place—if indeed it was really at the Grampians. There is a fine relic of a Roman encampment at the Bridge of Ardoch, between Dunblane and Perth, with the earthen ramparts of a Roman fort close to it. They are in full view of the Grampian range, and this has been often supposed to be the site of the battle; but some places farther north, and others more to the south, have been named with equal probability. The Roman historian gives the speech made

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by each leader before the battle; but this was merely in pursuance of a common practice among ancient writers, and it is hardly possible that Tacitus could receive an accurate account of what Galgacus said. The Roman troops, drawn up in a long line, to make the best appearance with their numbers, were much galled by a thick flight of arrows, probably headed by the small flint points already alluded to. To put a stop to this kind of conflict, from which the Romans suffered severely, Agricola despatched detachments from his veteran auxiliaries, the Batavians and Tungrians, who charged with their short swords, and by their high training and thorough knowledge of the weapon, threw into confusion the centre of the Caledonians drawn up in the plain. The greater portion of the army was, however, placed on heights, whence they sought to pour down and destroy the Roman assailants. But Agricola was too skilful to be thus foiled by barbarians, however valorous: he had at his command highly trained Roman horsemen, very different in the scientific regularity of their movements from those of the natives mounted on small half-wild animals, and with them he charged the descending troops, breaking their ranks, and at last dispersing them. The Romans gained the day, and used their success with their usual cruelty; for they never condescended to treat barbarians with the slightest humanity, or to save their lives, unless when it was desirable to make slaves. They were the more infuriated on this occasion, because, even after the victory, an advanced party of the pursuers was surrounded and nearly cut off by the fugitives. There is no doubt much exaggeration in the Roman description of the battle, but it is at least very evident, that in these wild Caledonians the highly disciplined conquerors found enemies who did not yield without a severe struggle. We are told by the historian, that next morning there was a dead silence around, and that no traces of the barbarians were to be found but their dead, and the burning huts which they had deserted in their retreat within the farther recesses of their hills. In the meantime, the fleet sailed northwards, and the Romans, to their astonishment, discovered that Britain was an island. Nothing could have proved more opportune, since here at last was a total conquest to be achieved, with no land full of barbarians beyond, either to break in and disturb the dominion of Rome, or by their freedom to prove too clearly that she was not yet mistress of the whole world. While Agricola was making arrangements for the conquest of Ireland, hav-

ing received a fugitive prince from that island, he was recalled to Italy; and though it is certain that, after the battle of the Grampians, many conflicts must have taken place between the Romans and the inhabitants of Scotland, unfortunately no record of them is extant. For nearly 300 years the Romans were more or less connected with Scotland; or for a period nearly as long as that between the battle of Bannockburn and the union of the crown of Scotland with that of England.

2. THE ROMAN WALLS.—About thirty-five years after the departure of Agricola, the Emperor Adrian built a wall from Newcastle to the Solway Frith, which leaves it to be inferred that, so far from having a solid dominion even in the south of Scotland, the Romans found it necessary to protect their provinces in England from the attacks of the northern barbarians. Afterwards, Antonine erected a line of fortresses from Borrowstounness on the Forth, to the neighbourhood of Bowling Bay on the Clyde—nearly in the same track which Agricola had attempted to fortify. There was a great difference between the northern and the southern rampart, and the latter seems to have been regarded as the true permanent boundary. It consisted of a thick wall faced with cut stones, and built with much labour over hills and down through valleys, with strong forts here and there. Altogether, even its remains show that it was made to encounter formidable enemies expected from the north. The wall between the Forth and the Clyde, however, was but an earthen rampart and ditch, with stations at intervals fortified by mounds. It was apparently an experimental barrier for temporary resistance: yet traces of some portions of it may still be seen; and statues and altars found in its vicinity show that the Roman soldiers who defended it were endeavouring to establish their own religious worship, and introduce the elegancies of their own country in this distant northern land.

England was an important part of the Roman empire. It gave great influence to the commander who governed it, and on at least one occasion enabled him to claim the authority of emperor. Throughout the whole period of the foreign government, Scotland was but partly subjected, and sometimes even entirely free. Among the *Mæatae*, as they were termed, between the walls, there was a partially Romanized community, but in the vast Caledonian district of the north, the imperial authority was only acknowledged when it was represented by a large invading army.

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3. LOLLIVS URBICVS, SEVERVS, &c.—In the middle of the second century, the eminent commander, Lollius Urbicus, extended and strengthened the conquests of the Romans; but little is known of the particulars of his achievements. At the beginning of the third century, the Emperor Severus resolved to signalize his reign by the subjugation and annexation of Caledonia, which he invaded with a powerful army in the year 208. The records of this expedition are very scanty; it is spoken of by the eulogists of the emperor, whose authority is not entirely to be depended on, as accompanied with a fearful slaughter of the barbarians. The troops are said to have noticed the great variations in the length of the day and night, characterizing the far northern latitude to which they penetrated. The expedition is supposed to have reached the Moray Frith, and that district is the most northerly in which antiquaries have professed to discover Roman remains. A square chamber, partly filled with water, in the village of Burgh-head, is said to be a Roman bath, and to show that Severus had established himself here for a considerable time. Many of the Roman roads and camps, of which vestiges still exist, are conjectured to have been constructed by him; and a piece of very beautiful Roman sculpture, which, by some accident has been built into the wall of a house on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh, is on good grounds believed to represent this emperor and his wife Julia. Some writers have thought that his extensive destruction of forests, by stopping up the flow of water with their vegetable remains, created the many peat bogs of Scotland. But, however powerful and immediately effectual his campaigns may have been, it is certain that he had no sooner returned to York, than all Caledonia was again in arms. He died in the year 211, when meditating a more exterminating invasion.

FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—After the middle of the fourth century, Theodosius professed to re-establish the dominion of the Romans between the walls, naming the province Valentia. But it may be said that, from the time of Severus, the dominion of the Romans gradually disappeared to the northward of the Northumbrian wall. It was not until the middle of the fifth century that they entirely abandoned South Britain to its own resources; but, during the last century of occupation, instead of attempting conquests among the wild natives of the north, they confined themselves to the protection of England from harassing invasions. The pro-

vince in Scotland between the walls, where the Romans had so long held some sway, was to a certain extent civilized, and was naturally viewed with hostility by the northern tribes; as subjugated provinces generally are by their free neighbours. These Romanized Scots are supposed to have formed the small kingdom of Strathclyde, of which so little is known, though it existed for several centuries as a separate state in the fruitful district between the Forth and Clyde. Its capital is believed to have been Alclwyd, or the present Dumbarton. Christianity to some extent followed Roman civilisation. Towards the end of the fourth century, considerable progress was made in conversion; but all was obliterated, or nearly so, in the confusions which followed, and the effectual planting of Christianity was reserved for a later period.

4. THE SEVERAL NATIVES, PICTS, SCOTS, &c.—The names and origin of the tribes inhabiting Scotland, from the first invasion of the Romans down to the commencement of Christian civilisation, have given rise to much unsuccessful inquiry and discussion. The people of the north, first called Caledonii or Caledonians by Tacitus, afterwards appear under the name of Picts. The two terms seem to have been carelessly used by ancient writers, who sometimes adopted the one, and sometimes the other; while one author speaks of the Caledonians and other Picts, as if the one name only pointed to a province of the country referred to by the other. Hence, there is much dispute about the precise meaning of the two words. It is believed that the Picts were divided into twenty-one tribes, whose names it is unnecessary to enumerate, and that they were afterwards separated by a general division into Dicalledones and Vecturiones. They joined the Scots, of whom we shall see more a little farther on, in their hostile inroads on the Romanized Britons of Southern Scotland and of England.

A more important discussion than that about the identity of Picts with Caledonians, has been held on the question whether the former were a people of Gothic origin, like the Germans, the English, and the present Lowlanders of Scotland, or of Celtic origin, like the greater portion of the Highlanders and the native Irish. The nature of the language spoken would perhaps have decided the question, but unfortunately only one word of the original Pictish language was known to exist when the dispute was at its height, and late researches have added another. The former occurs where the

historian Bede says that a place is called in the Pictish Peanfahel, which forms the subject of an amusing discussion between Monkbarns and Sir Arthur Wardour, in Sir Walter Scott's novel of the *Antiquary*. The other word is Scollofthes, applied, it seems, in Pictish to an humble grade of clergy or scholastics. It is easy to maintain such incidental words to be either Gothic or Celtic in their origin.

What, however, is certain and really important is, that from the dawn of civilisation in Scotland we find the country divided between Celts and the Goths or Teutons. The western districts were occupied by the former, and those territories towards the north-east, once the region of the Caledonians or Picts, were then certainly occupied by people of Teutonic origin; but whether they were the earlier inhabitants of the district, or were a portion of the Saxon invaders of England pressing northward, or were separate bands who had landed from Scandinavia on the coast of Scotland, is unknown.

The Celts of the west were those who first received the name of Scots; they held it while they were yet in Ireland, whence they migrated to the nearest part of the Scottish coast. It was not until about the middle of the fourth century that their presence was first known in Scotland, and they had then been crossing over in small successive bands for a period of about a hundred years. They were called Attacotti, of whom a larger and more civilized colony, which professed Christianity, were called Dalriads, and founded the kingdom of Dalriada, consisting, probably, of the present Argyllshire and some adjoining districts. It is supposed that, uniting with the Celts whom they found in Scotland, the whole Celtic population separated itself, as a nation inhabiting the western mountainous territory, from the people of Gothic origin who occupied the east. The reason for this difference of choice and arrangement has already been mentioned. These two nations thus constituted the leading states in Scotland; and there was besides the small kingdom of Strathclyde, and a wild race, inhabiting Galloway, which sometimes formed a distinct state.

**ABSORPTION OF THE TRIBES.**—About the middle of the eighth century, Strathclyde was overwhelmed by its more powerful neighbours. Afterwards there were fierce conflicts between the Scots and the Picts, which ended in a union in the year 843; but it is singular that the method in which this was effected is so obscure, that it has been maintained

on one side that the Scots conquered the Picts, and entirely cut them off, while, on the other, it is asserted that the Picts were the victorious party. The legendary histories and old monkish chronicles always give currency to the former version; but they mention it along with events which, from their being impossible, render the other parts of their narrative improbable.

5. CHRISTIANITY; ST COLUMBA.—The introduction of Christianity is the most important event which followed the departure of the Romans. The teaching of St Ninian in Galloway, if it had not been totally obliterated by the conflicts of the times, probably only exercised a slight influence on a few scattered families. It was soon after the middle of the sixth century, in the year 563, as some inquirers maintain, that Columba, the apostle of the Picts and Scots, came from Ireland, and settled in the island of Hii or Iona, in the Atlantic Ocean. He has been canonized as a saint, and although his biography is so full of miracles and vague or incredible statements that the true cannot be separated from the false, there is no doubt that he exercised a wide influence among the Picts, the Scots, and the other uncivilized tribes. The wild and solitary island in which he took up his abode long held an important position in the ecclesiastical system of Scotland. It contains a multitude of tombs, for many of the chiefs and kings of the earlier ages desired to be buried in so hallowed a spot. The remains both of a cathedral and a monastery adorn that sterile island; but though some of the buildings are ancient, they are of a later date than the time of St Columba. His biographers tell us that he sent forth his monks to gather twigs for building their hospice, and it is probable that the first fane he erected was an humble edifice of turf or osier-work. He is supposed to have brought Christianity through a different source from that of the Western church; and hence are said to have arisen those peculiarities which distinguished the Scottish church from that in the rest of Europe. The influence of this western mission gradually spread eastwards, and there it was met and aided by the efforts of the church planted at Lindisfarne in England, which acknowledged many followers in the north of Scotland.

6. FICTITIOUS HISTORY OF THE MONARCHY.—It is from the union of the Picts and Scots in the middle of the ninth century that anything like a state or monarchy, properly so called,

in Scotland must be dated; but it did not then comprehend the territories south of the Forth and Clyde. Those who wrote the annals of Scotland, before history was studied as a science of which the ascertainment of the truth is a main object, professed to give the Scottish monarchy a much higher antiquity. At the revival of learning in Europe, there was a natural desire in each country to show that it had not emerged from barbarism only at a recent period, but that it was a great and civilized state when the rest of the world was in confusion and darkness. Hence authors flattered their countrymen by composing fabulous histories for them. In this occupation there was a general competition, in which the Irish annalists left all the efforts of the Scottish and the English so far behind, that they carried their own history back to a period before the Flood.

Those who create fictitious narratives from their own imagination generally mould them to the circumstances by which they are themselves surrounded, and hence the monkish writers made Scotland from the beginning of things a compact monarchy, with its officers of state, as it was in the sixteenth century, instead of a rude assemblage of tribes among whom might made right. They carried the origin of the monarchy to Gathelus, a prince of Greece, who, quarrelling with his father, fled the country and married Scota, a princess of Egypt, and the daughter of that Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea. Other authors made Gathelus a grandson of Nimrod the mighty hunter. However this might be, Gathelus and Scota, discontented with their inferior position in Egypt, wandered in search of a kingdom over Africa and part of Europe, founded on their way the kingdom of Portugal or the Port of Gathelus, and finally settled in the northern part of Britain, naming it Scotia after Pharaoh's daughter. It was later than this that the Scottish monarchy began in a continued line of descent, the first being Fergus I., who is said to have ascended the throne about three centuries before Christ. Galdus, or the Galgacus who fought with Agricola, was called the twenty-first king in this line; and James, who ascended the throne of England, was counted the 108th. The lives and achievements of these men, whose existence was a matter of mere imagination, were, down to a late period, taught to the young, and perused and credited by the aged. When antiquarians consulted the most ancient chronicles of Ireland and the Scandinavian tribes for real history, as a sub-



stitute for these fables, they found nothing but meagre and varying lists of Dalriadic and Pictish kings, containing such names as Drust, Talarg, Golargan, and Fiachrach, of whose rank or power little could be discovered.

**ACTUAL COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY.**—Rejecting the legendary history as false, and the lists of petty kings as unprofitable, it is going sufficiently far back to speak of Scotland as a monarchical state under King Kenneth, the son of Alpin, at the Pictish and Scottish Union, generally assigned to the year 843. Even from this date its annals are for some centuries very vague and unsatisfactory, and so little is known of several of the monarchs, that it is unnecessary to burden the memory with a list of their names. The chief events of the succeeding reigns were contests with the sea-kings or piratical chiefs of the north. We know not how far they may have then effected landings on the coast, and, mingling with the people, helped to form the ancestry of the present Scots. It is certain that they occupied the Shetland and Orkney isles, where a Scandinavian race succeeded them. They also established themselves in the Western Isles or Hebrides, and in some measure on the west coast of Scotland, where they became leaders or chiefs of the people, and conducted many piratical expeditions. In the twelfth century they formed almost an independent state, under their leader Somerled; and for some time afterwards maintained a sort of Highland empire, which frequently asserted a total independence of the Scottish king.

**7. CONNEXION WITH THE ENGLISH SAXONS.**—On the other side, the kingdom of Scotland was not distinctly separated from England. Strathclyde scarcely belonged to either. The boundaries of the kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy, and those of the general kingdom founded on their ruins, were often altering, and it was not an uncommon thing for the boundaries to be on either side of what was in later times the English border. The Saxon kingdom of Northumberland at one time extended to the Frith of Forth; and it is said that Edinburgh has its name from its founder the Saxon Edwin. At that time the King of Scots was no more the natural enemy of his southern neighbours, than the Saxon provinces were natural enemies of each other.

In the changes which were occasionally taking place, Malcolm the First, who succeeded in the middle of the tenth century, made a remarkable acquisition of territory. Cumberland and West-

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moreland were inhabited by a people supposed to be of ancient British extraction, who held out against the dominion of the Saxon kings. Edmund the Elder, after a cruel war with these turbulent provinces, made over his claims on them to the Scottish monarch, by whose successors they were retained.

**THE NORTHMEN.**—The next sovereign, Kenneth III., annexed what remained of the old kingdom of Strathclyde. In his reign was fought the battle of Luncarty, by which the country was relieved from an invasion of the Danes, who threatened completely to subdue it. According to a tradition of the monkish historians, the Scots were in full flight, when a peasant, named Hay, working in a neighbouring field, indignant at the cowardice of his countrymen, met them at a narrow pass with his two sons, strong men like himself, and drove them back, by attacking them with the heavy yoke of the oxen. The story goes, that this peasant founded the fortunes of the noble family of Hay, by obtaining for his services as much land as a hawk would fly over before perching. Local names preserve the tradition, for a suburb of Dundee is still called the Hawkhill, and Luncarty, where the battle was fought, is a station on the railway from Perth to the north. In the year 1010, when Malcolm II. was king, the northmen made another great descent on the fruitful territory of Moray. The Scottish king vowed to build a church if he should be successful against them; and the old church of Mortlach, still standing, is said to have been the fulfilment of his vow. Some round cavities in the mortar are spoken of as the marks of Danish skulls built into the wall. Near Forres there is an obelisk, of a single stone, fifteen feet high, covered with confused groups as of men marching, or in battle, or fleeing before an enemy. It is called, at the present day, Sweno's Stone, and is naturally associated with this war, in which Sweno, king of Denmark, sent a fleet under the command of Camus, who was defeated and slain.

**8. EXTENSION OF TERRITORY.**—It was in the reign of Malcolm II. that the districts of Lothian and the southern shires were attached to the Scottish monarchy. They were yielded by the Earl of Northumberland, much in the same manner as the other Saxon districts of the heptarchy were absorbed in Mercia, and England became gradually a compact kingdom. Feudal homage was unknown at that time; but the Norman kings of England afterwards made out, that as these districts, as well as the Cambrian principality, were properly parts of

England, the Scottish monarch should do feudal homage for them.

**DUNCAN AND MACBETH.**—Malcolm's successor was Duncan, whose name, as well as that of his successor, has been rendered illustrious by the genius of Shakspeare. The incidents of this play are founded entirely on the fabulous history of the monkish annalists of after-ages; and perhaps nothing could serve better to show how history has been perverted, than a comparison of the thrilling horrors of the tragedy of Macbeth with what is really known of his history. Shakspeare represents the events as taking place in large Gothic castles, with mysterious passages and battlemented towers, such as were reared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But there were no castles then in Scotland; and a king would live in a one-storied house of turf or wattles, protected probably by a ditch surrounding it, or by its standing on the top of a conical mound. Very little is known of Macbeth, whose name in the oldest documents is Machaboed, except that he was believed to be a pious man; that he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and that he is the earliest monarch mentioned in the records of the ecclesiastical establishments as a benefactor of the church. The old chroniclers do not distinctly say that he murdered Duncan, and it rather appears that he fell in a contest for the throne with Macbeth, who had claims both in his own person and that of his wife Gruach. Hereditary succession was far from being a settled principle in that early age, or until long afterwards; and when the eldest son was a minor or imbecile, the brother, or some more competent relation of a departed king, generally succeeded to his throne.

9. **MALCOLM AND MARGARET.**—Macbeth's son, named Lulach, was, it appears, an idiot; and he was easily displaced by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, called Canmore, a term said to be derived from the Celtic Kean Mohr, meaning *great head*. During his reign, the conquest of England by the Normans in 1066 had a decided influence on the condition of Scotland. A large body of the Saxons, who feared to remain on their native lands, or hated the reign of the oppressive Norman, sought refuge in Scotland. They thus increased the preponderance of the Gothic community, and at the same time knit more closely than ever the connexion of the lowland Scots with the Saxon race of England; for both had a common enemy in the ambitious Norman. The Scottish king could not indeed contemplate this ascendancy in England without fear-

ing for his own dominions. In league with some of the discontented Saxons of Northumberland, Malcolm marched into that district; but his conflict with the Norman power only tended to increase the sufferings of the miserable people. It was said that afterwards Scotland was filled with English serfs, either taken in this war, or fugitives from the Normans.

Among the Saxons who sought refuge in Scotland, came Edward the Atheling, the nearest heir of the Saxon royal line, and his sister Margaret. She was married to the King of Scots, who thus became by connexion, as well as other ties, the supporter of the oppressed people of England. Queen Margaret was a very remarkable woman. Some writers have spoken as if she went from a highly civilized to a barbarous sphere; but there seems little reason to suppose that the Saxon-English were at that time much more civilized than their neighbours of Scotland. The queen, however, looked to a higher civilisation than either; and it is evident that she raised the tone of feeling and manners at the court. She favoured the clergy, who had not been held in high esteem by previous Scottish kings, and used her influence with her husband to increase their wealth and privileges. Her favours to them secured her an immortal reputation, for her life was written by her devoted confessor, and after death she was canonized as a saint. So great had been the advancement of the court in civilisation, when Malcolm and Margaret reigned, that those brilliant adventurers, the Normans, began to frequent it. Gradually their accomplishments and energy procured for them trust and emoluments. During the reign of Malcolm's successors they came in increasing numbers, and gradually assimilated Scotland to England as a country with a Saxon common people and Norman aristocracy.

ST DAVID; ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS.—This change was aided by the religious views of David I., one of the sons of the sainted Margaret, who brought many foreign ecclesiastics into Scotland. The old churches connected both with Iona and Lindisfarne had fallen into neglect, and much of their property had been appropriated by aggrandizing nobles. He gave large estates to the church, founding and endowing nearly all the bishoprics, as well as such great monastic houses as Melrose, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Coldingham, and the noble abbey of Dunfermline reared upon the tomb of his mother St Margaret. The churches of stone existing before this period must have been very few and insignificant; but

David's munificence introduced the rich and massive Norman and Romanesque style of architecture, then prevalent in the more advanced countries of Europe. The style is known from later forms by the semicircular arches over the doors, windows, and colonnades, the round pillars, the zig-zag and fan-shaped ornaments, and a general air of solidity. Specimens of the original buildings may yet be seen at Kelso, Jedburgh, Coldingham, Arbroath, and Dunfermline. The vast estates given to these establishments were the main source of the riches of the Scottish church. They procured for the monarch the honour of canonization, and caused James the First, in reference to these large alienations, call him "a sair saint to the crown."

10. INFLUENCE OF ROME.—But the ecclesiastical changes were not limited to an increase of the number and wealth of such establishments. The Scottish clergy, remote and humble, had heretofore been isolated from those of other countries. Whether or not they had actually, as some maintain, a totally different form of church-government from that of the Romish establishment, it is certain that they were more primitive and simple in their manners, and that they adopted some arrangements which were at variance with the practice of the Western Church; among others, a rule as to the time of celebrating Easter. A number of monastic bodies, of a peculiar kind, had arisen in Scotland, called Culdees. They had their chief seats at Abernethy in Perthshire, the island of St Serf in Lochleven, St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Monymusk in Aberdeenshire. Their origin and peculiar customs have been involved in much dispute and mystery, and they have sometimes been compared with the Waldenses, as a body apart from the rest of Europe, preserving the usages of the primitive church. They so far differed from the Romish ecclesiastical canon that marriage was held honourable among them; and that they were not liked by the Romish clergy is shown by their being gradually superseded wherever the latter gained ground. David brought into the country English and other foreign ecclesiastics, devoted to the Church of Rome, and he thus, along with his great ecclesiastical foundations, may be said to have planted the Romish Church in Scotland.

QUARRELS WITH ENGLAND.—David involved himself in the first of the national quarrels with England by advocating the succession of the Empress Maude, his own relation and the descendant of the Saxon line to the throne of England; against the pretensions of Stephen. He collected a motley army,

composed of Scots, Picts, Cambrians, Britons, Galwegians, and Normans. The last were generally unwilling to fight against England, where they held lands as well as in Scotland; and two of them, Robert de Brus or Bruce, and Bernard de Baliol, the ancestors of the subsequent claimants of the throne, remonstrated against an advance into England. David, however, marched on to Northallerton, where, in the year 1139, he fought the battle of the Standard, so termed from an enormous pole adorned with several consecrated pennons. After a hard contest, the English, on a rumour that David was killed, proved victorious, and the Scottish king was glad to adjust a treaty at Durham and abandon the enterprise.

MALCOLM IV., who succeeded David in 1153, was much inferior in political capacity to his contemporary Henry II. of England. He consented to give up his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland, and to do homage for those which he held in the Lothians, as having been a part of Saxon Northumberland. His son, William, called the Lion, who succeeded in 1165, showed a determination to retake what had been conceded to England, and set the example of seeking an alliance with the French king against their common enemy. In an expedition into England, he was preparing to besiege Alnwick, when an English party came on him by surprise and took him prisoner. This was followed by an event fatal to Scotland. The English king demanded that William should do homage for his kingdom as a fief of the English crown; and, to regain his liberty, William agreed to do so by the treaty of Falaise in Normandy, the birth-place of William the Conqueror. Yet this treaty had not been long made when it was virtually relinquished. The renowned Richard Cœur de Lion, who was a romantic and adventurous rather than an aggrandizing prince, wanting money to enable him to join the crusade in the Holy Land, restored the Scottish king to his former position for a payment equal to about £100,000. That the plans for making Scotland subject to England were deliberately laid, was shown not only in the revival of the claim by Henry III., but by the English hierarchy's claiming jurisdiction over the clergy of Scotland, and endeavouring to enforce it in the choice of a bishop of St Andrews,—an attempt which was successfully resisted.

In King William the Lion's reign we begin to have some knowledge of the institutions of Scotland, from vestiges of laws, and from legal documents, chiefly those connected with

the ecclesiastical endowments. The laws and institutions were not exactly the same as those of England, but they had a general resemblance, and did not diverge in a totally different direction, which was the case after the great quarrel with the Edwards.

During the reign of Alexander II., from 1214 to 1286, few events of note occurred save attempts to renew the claims of English supremacy. It seemed as if this question was finally settled by the marriage of his successor Alexander III. to Margaret the daughter of Henry III.; but, as we shall presently see, this only produced new dangers.

11. HACO OF NORWAY.—Meanwhile, however, Scotland was threatened from a different quarter. The increasing power of the lowland Scottish king was absorbing within his empire those northern adventurers who had established themselves on the north-west coast of Scotland. The King of Norway not unnaturally looked on these as his colonists, who ought to be under his own dominion, and he was afraid that the Orkney and Shetland Isles, of which he still was feudal lord, would also fall under the dominion of the King of Scots. On this account he resolved to prepare a great expedition against Scotland, which proved the last of the serious attacks of the fierce Northmen. As they sailed along the west coast, they sent plundering parties, according to their old practice, through the country. One of these performed the original exploit of dragging their vessels over the narrow flat isthmus which separates Loch Long from Tarbet, and relaunching them on Lochlomond, where they ravaged the shores and islands, or as the Norwegian chronicler says, “the exacters of contribution with flaming brands wasted the populous islands in the lake and the mansions round its winding bays.”

Haco, the Norwegian king, attempting to land at the Bay of Largs in the Frith of Clyde, was baffled partly by tempest and partly by a small but well-disciplined Scottish force. This attempt, which occurred in October 1263, is counted one of the great deliverances of Scotland. Haco sailed northwards to Orkney, where he died of an illness aggravated by disappointed ambition. After this a treaty was entered into, by which Norway abandoned the Orkney and Shetland Islands on Scotland agreeing to pay a sum of money,—an engagement which appears not to have been kept. This arrangement was followed in 1281 by the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Alexander III., with Eric, king of Norway.

**BREAKING OF THE LINE OF SUCCESSION.**—Soon after this event, Alexander's two sons died. His wife too was dead, and desirous of having an heir to his throne, he married Joletta, daughter of the Count of Dreux. Accident frustrated all his schemes: on the 16th of March 1286, while riding homewards at night by the edge of a rock near Kinghorn in Fife, his horse fell over the precipice and he was killed. This event has ever been regarded as the beginning of Scotland's disasters. Margaret, who had married the Norwegian Eric, had died, leaving an only daughter; and on this tenure, frail from sex, age, and the dangers of distance, seemed to hang the independence of the Scottish crown. Edward I. proposed that she should be married to his son the Prince of Wales; and at Brigham he met a convention of the Scottish Estates, or an assemblage of the nobles, to adjust the matter. Many of these nobles were Normans, to whom the union of the two kingdoms would have been advantageous. Nor perhaps did those of native descent strongly object, though the country would thereby become absorbed in England, provided their own privileges and liberties were preserved. For these they made satisfactory stipulations, and then agreed to the proposal. But the whole was deranged by the death of the infant princess, known in history as the Maid of Norway. It occurred in the autumn of 1290, when she had reached the Orkneys on her way home.

## EXERCISES.

1. What is the earliest event in authentic history in Scotland? How is it that we are acquainted with Agricola's campaigns? What great battle does Tacitus mention? What account does he give of it?
2. Tell where the Romans built their two walls. What was the difference between them? How did the position of the Romans in Scotland differ from their position in England?
3. What other Roman commanders penetrated into Scotland? What do we know of their expeditions? Mention a piece of sculpture connected with Severus. Give an account of the decay of the Roman power in Scotland. Who are supposed to have formed the kingdom of Strathclyde?
4. What were the inhabitants of the north of Scotland first called? What disputes have arisen about them? Mention a more important dispute about the origin of races, and give an account of it. What is surely ascertained about the races inhabiting Scotland? How were the tribes united?
5. What is the most important event which followed the departure of the Romans? Who was Columba? What was the nature of his influence?
6. What was the nature of the histories of Scotland which people believed before the science of investigating truth had made progress? From what may the real commencement of the monarchy be counted? What were the events immediately following?
7. How did Scotland stand related to England in the Saxon times? What acquisition did Malcolm I. make? State what is truly known about the battle of Luncarty. Mention a tradition regarding it.



8. What extension of the territory of Scotland occurred in the reign of Malcolm II.? How is the real history of Macbeth distinguished from Shakspeare's?

9. Who was Malcolm Canmore? Who was his wife? Describe her influence. For what was David I. remarkable? Where are specimens of Norman architecture to be seen?

10. What is known of the Culdees? How were they superseded? How was the Romish church planted? How did the Battle of the Standard arise? What occurred in the reign of Malcolm IV.? What is noticeable about the reign of William the Lion? What occurred during the reign of Alexander II.?

11. What was the cause of the King of Norway's expedition? How did it enter Loch Lomond? What was its fate? What was the position of the succession to the throne at the death of Alexander III.? What was the proposal of Edward I.? How was it rendered ineffective?

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### CHAPTER III.

#### FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE DEATH OF WALLACE, A.D. 1291—1305.

The Claimants of the Crown—The Conquest—The Norman Barons and the Scottish People—The national Hero Wallace—His actual History—Commencement of the Struggle—Its Progress—Battle of Stirling—Resources of Scotland—Wallace made Governor—Edward's Invasion—Battle of Falkirk—Jealousies against Wallace—France and Scotland—Resumption of Hostilities—Second Conquest—Fate of Wallace.

1. THE CLAIMANTS OF THE CROWN.—The opportunity for which the King of England lay in wait had now arrived. The nearest existing branches of the royal line were some Norman families, the heads of which were his own vassals. If he had any claim on Scotland before, that claim would be increased if a subject of his own was raised to the throne, and he would know what stipulations to make with such a person before affording him the aid essential for success. King William the Lion, the Maid of Norway's great-grandfather, had a brother, David, earl of Huntingdon, who left three daughters. It was from among the descendants of these that the chief claimants appeared; and of the twelve competitors who came forward, the two most memorable were Robert Bruce, the grandfather of him who afterwards gained the crown, and John Baliol.

Bruce was the grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon by his second daughter. Baliol was his great-grandson, but he was descended from the eldest daughter. According to modern notions of descent, his claim was undoubtedly the best. But such nice questions in succession had not then been adjusted,

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and the decision was left in the hands of Edward. His first step was to obtain an acknowledgment from the candidates of his claims as lord-paramount over Scotland, and this they willingly, for their own personal ends, conceded. He next, as if to prepare the people for peaceable submission to the one whom he should find to be the lawful sovereign, quartered troops in the country, and took possession of the strong places. He then, after long consideration, decided in favour of Baliol's claim.

Under the feudal system, a vassal was entitled to appeal from the judgment of his immediate superior to that of the lord-paramount. If, then, Edward held that power in Scotland, any one might appeal to him from Baliol's decisions. Macduff, the guardian of the young Earl of Fife, having been punished by Baliol for his rapacity, appealed to Edward, and the Scottish king was summoned to England to answer as a vassal. Baliol demurred rather than refused to obey, but he was accused of contumacy, and it was decided that certain of the Scottish strongholds should be seized as those of a rebel.

2. THE CONQUEST.—Apprehensive that he was to lose his ill-acquired kingdom, Baliol made an alliance with France; but Edward, with his usual readiness, marched northwards along with the warlike Bishop Anthony Beck, who stormed and took <sup>28th April</sup> Berwick, the great border fortress of Scotland, and <sup>1296.</sup> the key as it were of the country. As he approached Dunbar, the castle held out for Baliol, and a confused attack was made on the English army by a party of Scottish troops, who were easily repulsed. There was no national interest as yet in the contest; it appeared indeed to be merely a question between Bruce and Baliol. The former accompanied Edward, and supposing that the end of the operations would be to place him on the throne, he hinted as much. But Edward, now taking little care to conceal his object, said in answer: "Do you think I have no other business than to conquer kingdoms for you?"

Edward marched over the country without meeting any further resistance. In 1296, he held a parliament at Berwick, where the nobles attended and did homage. He left them in possession of their estates, but he took care to place the chief offices in the hands of his own courtiers, making the Earl of Surrey guardian of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby, justiciary.

**THE NORMAN BARONS AND THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE.**—To understand the history of Scotland for some hundreds of years after the death of Alexander III., it is necessary to remember that the Normans had spread themselves over the country, and were in possession of large estates. From the conquest of England by William of Normandy, in the year 1066, till the death of Alexander III., 220 years had passed, with many changes in the character of the people. These Norman leaders combined the bravery and hardihood of the northern races with the polished politeness which we attribute to the south. Their renown in arms was spread over all the world; and wherever they went, they were feared if they came in war, or made welcome if they came in peace. When they first entered England it was as ravenous invaders, seizing on the estates of the Saxon aristocracy, and oppressing the other inhabitants, who disliked them as strangers, even had they not been tyrants, and probably exaggerated their cruelty and rapacity.

Lapse of time had in some measure reconciled the Saxons and the Normans to each other, and both began to think they had a common country as Englishmen. But in the meanwhile the Normans, as we have seen, spread over Scotland, where they were well received, until it was found that, as aristocratic strangers, they had an interest different from that of the people at large. Nearly all the great men of Scotland at that time had Norman names; such were the house of Baliol; that of Bruce, derived from the family domain of Brux, in Normandy, De Vesey, De Soulis, De Mandeville, De Hastings, D'Umfreville, De Quincy, &c. Even many of the heads of the highland clans were Norman knights; as the chief of the Frasers in Inverness-shire, whose name was changed from the Norman Friselle.

It was not to be expected that these strangers would have much feeling of nationality, or care to what king they paid homage,—indeed the greater portion of those mentioned in the above list were themselves competitors for the crown. It was, as we shall see, one of these Norman claimants who afterwards vindicated the liberties of the country, and re-established Scotland as an independent kingdom; but it was not wonderful that few of these adventurers considered themselves called on to resist the claims of Edward.

**3. THE NATIONAL HERO WALLACE.**—Thus it was by the native gentry and people of Scotland that the oppression of the

King of England was chiefly felt ; and while the Normans were either lukewarm or hostile, one of these, well known by the heart-stirring title of Sir William Wallace, gained for himself an immortal name as a champion and martyr in the cause of freedom. When any country owns a national hero, who in distant ages has redeemed her people from foreign tyranny, it is natural that his capacity and exploits should be much exaggerated. Hence there are many legendary tales about Wallace which belong more to fiction than fact. His adventures have been recorded in verse by a minstrel known by the name of Blind Harry, and in which much romance is mixed up with real history. Blind Harry lived about 200 years after the period of the hero whom he commemorated ; and nothing is more natural than that a poet, giving an account of one dear to the hearts of those who listened to his narrative, should convert the true events of history into a romance. Thus he represented Wallace as a man of superhuman strength and stature, who could cleave a mail-clad warrior in two with his gigantic sword,—could climb precipices, tear down fortified walls, and even engage in successful conflict with beings of the other world.

**HIS ACTUAL HISTORY.**—Such exaggerations created, in later times, a considerable amount of ridicule, and rendered it fashionable to doubt the exploits attributed to Wallace. But since his history has been critically examined, it has been shown that if there be no occasion to believe in his gigantic stature and supernatural strength, he was in military and political capacity one of the most remarkable men whom the world has produced. It has been proved beyond dispute, that he organized the Scottish people, throughout the whole of the lowland districts at least, against the Norman usurper, and that he gained brilliant victories over disciplined forces. While it is thus shown that he was one of whom a nation may be justly proud, yet scarcely anything is distinctly known of his origin. His father is believed to have been the proprietor of an estate in Renfrewshire ; and the hero's birthplace is said generally to have been at Elderslie, now a manufacturing village near Paisley.

**4. COMMENCEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE.**—Feeling the degradation to which his countrymen, formerly so free, were subjected by the tyranny of their Norman masters, he resented their insults, and became involved in disputes. It is said that one day, in the town of Lanark, he was engaged in a contest of this kind, in which he would have been overpowered by num-

bers had he not obtained refuge in the house of a young lady to whom he was attached. The invaders, as the legend tells, cruelly put her to death, and Wallace avenged her fate by slaying Hislop, the English sheriff. Being now an outlawed man, and hunted for his life, he retired into the remote solitudes which then covered a much greater portion of Scotland than they do at present. In the neighbourhood of Lanark there is a deep cleft in a rock called Cartland Crag, with precipices on both sides, and a small stream wandering in the lowest depths of the ravine. Here, it is said, he found an effectual hiding-place; and many portions of the wild scenery of Scotland, from the English border as far north as Aberdeenshire, are traditionally connected with his wanderings and career.

As he was one of those whose abilities naturally give them an influence over others, a few of his countrymen, unable to endure in patience the rule of the stranger, or perhaps pursued like Wallace for having resisted the foreign officers, gathered round him. With the little band thus collected he sometimes fell upon straggling parties of Edward's troops; and as he made his attacks with remarkable skill and success, the fame of his achievements spread through the country, and at last he became the object of the fondest hopes of the oppressed people. Thus by degrees his force increased, until he led a considerable army, which no longer required to lurk in the wilderness. It consisted of the common people. The first man of rank who joined him was Sir William Douglas, who came at the head of his large retinue of vassals; and gradually the nobility, especially those of Scottish descent, gathered round his standard. Among these were the Steward of Scotland, the ancestor of the Stuart line of kings, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Wishart, bishop of Glasgow. Young Bruce, the father of him who became afterwards king, had difficulty in escaping the vigilance of the English government; but he, too, at length joined his lot with the rest.

5. PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE.—Wallace's first alarming blow against the invaders was by a rapid march into Perthshire, where he surprised and seized Ormesby, Edward's justiciary, or lord chief justice, while holding a court at Scone. This was followed by many rapid and fierce attacks on the castles and towns occupied by southern garrisons. Wars of liberation are almost universally cruel, since the combatants feel not only enmity to their opponents, but the deep hatred

of those who have suffered insult and wrong. Hence great cruelties were perpetrated on the strangers, and were even extended to women and priests, who were not guilty of the actual oppressions which the liberators sought to avenge. The national bards, who afterwards sang the praises of Wallace, exulted in these acts, and seem rather to have exaggerated than concealed them,—so much does the animosity created by conquest, or other acts of national injustice, pervert the judgment of men.

King Edward, at that time having with him as his attendants the greater portion of the Scottish nobility, or properly speaking of the Norman knights who held lands in Scotland, looked on this outbreak by a man without name or rank as a mere provincial outrage which would be easily crushed. The sagacious and warlike Bishop of Durham, however, Anthony Beck, who saw that efforts dictated by deep national feeling were far more serious, hastened southward to the court, and laid the matter before the king in an alarming shape. Surrey and his nephew Percy were sent to quell the outbreak. Percy reached Scotland with 40,000 men, and soon after experienced the character of the rising by encountering a fierce midnight attack from the Scots near Lochmaben, in Dumfriesshire. When Percy advanced to Irvine, he found himself close to the patriot army. It was now that the people saw how little they could depend on the aristocracy of Norman origin who had joined them; for Bruce, Lindsay, the Steward, and others, believing that they were entering on a vain contest, <sup>29th July 1297.</sup> gave in their submission to Edward. This was recorded in a characteristic manner in a document in the Norman French dialect, which may still be read in the great collection of treaties and state documents published at the national expense.

Wallace in the meantime, accompanied by his faithful friend Sir Andrew Moray, retreated to the north, that he might rally and reorganize his forces. In fact, though the aristocracy of Norman descent or connexion deserted him, many of their feudal followers, who were in general native Scotsmen, adhered to the leader who was striking for their national liberties. Thus it is that one of the early English chroniclers tells us, "that the whole followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and that although the persons of their lords were with the King of England, their hearts were with Wallace,

who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots that the commonalty of the land obeyed him as their leader and their prince." Actively carrying on the war beyond the Tay, he took from the invaders' garrisons the strong castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose. All the towns of that period had considerable castles or fortresses connected with them; indeed, any considerable collection of houses not thus protected was liable to be pillaged and burned without any chance of resistance. In Dundee there was a stronghold still garrisoned by the English, and Wallace was besieging it when he heard that the Earl of Surrey, and Cressingham the treasurer were on their march northwards by Stirling.

6. BATTLE OF STIRLING.—Wallace knew how important it was to defend this point. It was the communication between the two halves of Scotland; for even so early as that time there was a bridge on the Forth close by, and an army going north, if it could not pass by this bridge, would have to cross the Frith of Forth by sea, or to march far up the river, and pass it by the dangerous fords near the Highlands. Wallace knew that the invaders must cross this narrow bridge, and his sagacity told him that if he could get there in time to choose his ground, he might have a command over his antagonist which it would be vain to expect elsewhere.

Accordingly, leaving the citizens of Dundee to conduct the siege of the fortress, he marched rapidly southwards, and reached the north bank of the Forth in time to accomplish his object. He took up his position on the high ground above Cambuskenneth, intending to attack the English army when it was partly across the bridge, and thus fight on something near equality; for he had but a small force, almost entirely of foot, while Surrey had 50,000 foot and 1000 mounted men-at-arms. In this army, however, there were some of the Scottish Norman aristocracy, whose allegiance to Edward was as uncertain as it had been to the interests of Scotland; for if the country regained its independence they would probably lose their estates. Some of them were strongly suspected of carrying on secret communications with Wallace, and this created so much dissension that blows were exchanged and blood drawn in the English camp. These lords attempted but in vain to conduct a negotiation; for it was not their interest that either side should gain a great victory and exterminate the other. They endeavoured to show how rash the English

commander was in trying to cross the bridge in the face of a force so well placed as that which Wallace commanded. But their observations were received with distrust.

The bridge appears to have been a narrow wooden structure, only broad enough to admit two persons to pass side by side, and Surrey's army had thus to cross it in a long narrow string. It was Wallace's object not at once to attack those who passed, as he would thus gain a victory over a few only, while the bulk of the army would remain untouched; but to allow a considerable portion of Surrey's force to be on the north, while the remainder was on the south side of the river. Cressingham, and a gallant English knight, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, had crossed with a considerable body, and Sir Marmaduke, impatient of delay, and mistaking the inactivity of the Scots, determined to charge them on the height. While they were forming themselves for the attack, with their backs to the river, a strong detachment of the Scots marched silently between them and the bridge, entirely cutting them off from Surrey and the remainder of the force.

When Wallace saw that the communication was completely stopped, he charged with his whole force down on those who had crossed. Twenge, looking round to see how the troops were passing over to support him, saw at once the peril of his position. He did not attempt to rally his followers against the charge of the Scots; but being a man of great personal strength and valour, turned with some of his followers to clear a path across the bridge. He succeeded, and brought a few of his men back to Surrey's camp; but the rest were routed, and either driven into the Forth or ruthlessly cut down. The Scots took a quantity of rich booty, and treated the defeated invaders with their usual cruelty. Surrey, though comparatively safe for the time with a portion of his force on the southern bank of the Forth, appears to have been so panic-stricken by the ruin which overwhelmed that on the other side, that he took horse and fled straight to Berwick, whither some of his troops followed him, while others found their way by various routes to England. So ended the battle of Stirling, fought on the 11th of September 1297.

7. RESOURCES OF SCOTLAND.—This victory had naturally the effect of immediately rousing all the ardour of the people, who now placed unlimited reliance on their national champion. The fortified places still in the hands of the hostile garrisons were at once abandoned. Feeling himself strong in success,



Wallace summoned all the men able to bear arms to his banner, and used force when ready compliance was withheld. In many instances refusal would have had a specious justification, for most of the feudal superiors whom the vassals were bound to obey were at the court of the English king; and had it not been that a national feeling, and the desire of achieving independence, were stronger than the feudal allegiance, Wallace never could have collected so large a force.

Seeing Scotland in a manner cleared of the invaders, he boldly resolved to carry the war into England. Probably this project was not dictated entirely by retaliation, but may have been suggested by a scarcity, the united effect of war and an unproductive harvest, which made it politic to quarter his army on the enemy. He swept the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland with his hungry soldiers, who seized the food of the starving peasantry, and instead of respecting the many religious houses scattered over the border counties, were particular in compelling them to render up the rich stores of their larders. Until late times there was preserved in the monastery of Hexham a scrap of parchment containing a protection granted by Wallace to that community. Modestly putting his follower, Moray, before himself, as the man of higher aristocratic rank, he gave by this document the protection in the name of the illustrious monarch John, by the Grace of God King of Scotland, with consent of the Estates of the Kingdom. Thus Wallace professed to act in the name of John Baliol, then in the custody of Edward, and residing in England. These outrages were retaliated by Lord Robert Clifford, who, with a band from Carlisle and Cumberland, ravaged the Scottish borders. Thus was commenced that cruel system of border warfare which desolated a large portion of the kingdom, on both sides of the Tweed, for centuries. The conduct of the King of England, in attempting to subdue Scotland, had made the Scots and the English enemies, and those who in both kingdoms were nearest to each other from that time indulged in the fiercest hatred and cruelty towards their neighbours.

**WALLACE MADE GOVERNOR.**—On his return from the expedition into England, a few of the nobles met in the Selkirk Forest, and confirmed the trust which the common people had by national acclamation conferred on Wallace, by making him governor of the kingdom in the name of King John. The secondary gentry, who were generally of Scottish descent,

heartily co-operated with them. But this co-operation, and the elevation of one of them to fill so high a place, roused the envy and discontent of the higher nobility, who had even some reason to fear that if Scotland regained her independence by such means, they would lose their power, if not their lordships. Their feelings were strengthened by the bold measures of Wallace, who, when they opposed his requisitions for military levies, used threats or force, and did not hesitate to menace the most powerful feudal potentates with imprisonment or worse penalties if they did not comply.

8. EDWARD'S INVASION.—King Edward was still in Flanders. It was now high time for him to act in person if he wished to retain the fruits of his conquests; and concluding a truce with France, he landed at Sandwich. His appearance at once roused and concentrated the energies of his Norman followers. A ballad of that age shows how entirely he was deemed the soul of the contest with Scotland. In allusion to the struggles and victories of the Scots, and to King Edward's nickname of Long Shanks, it says,—

Trut Scot for thy strife,  
Hang up thy hatchet and thy knife,  
While him lasteth the life of the long shanks.

Nevertheless the English parliament, with its usual acuteness, took the opportunity of the king's demand of money and forces to urge the redress of grievances, and the renewal of Magna Charta, and the charter of the forests, which restrained the despotic power of the kings in those districts which they set apart as hunting-grounds. With some reluctance, the king promised compliance when the war was over; and then the nobility of England, who were fast becoming the most affluent and powerful aristocracy in the world, crowded to his banner, and formed a host which seemed to render the efforts of the Scots utterly hopeless. Historians say that the army he commanded amounted to 80,000 men, of whom, 10,000 were heavy-armed horsemen, cased in iron-mail, and mounted on large powerful horses similarly protected. At that time, when there were no firearms, these men went about like movable fortresses, almost impregnable, and crushing all the resistance offered by the half-armed foot soldiers. Had all able to bear arms in Scotland been assembled, they would not have been so numerous; and the country was too poor to provide any considerable number of properly equipped horsemen.

The policy adopted by Wallace was to keep his soldiers at a distance from the English army, and to strip the intervening space of the means of supporting the invaders. The system was very nearly successful. On their arrival in the Lothians, Edward and his numerous host were much straitened for provisions, and, unable to find an enemy, could not employ their numbers to advantage. The troops were spread over the country, and liable to partial attacks by the Scots. The garrison of the strong castle of Dirlerton, near the coast of East Lothian, made frequent sallies with success, and Edward determining to take it, the warlike and skilful Bishop Beck was intrusted with the conduct of the siege. There was a long-protracted contest ere the garrison yielded. The remains of the castle, as it then stood, still exist, presenting an admirable specimen of the fortresses of those days, with their massive round towers, and bearing no resemblance to the castles of the feudal nobility built in later times.

Edward might have been defeated in his object had the aristocracy in any considerable number aided Wallace; but they had many inducements, as has already been explained, to be jealous of him. Young Robert Bruce, by whom such great things were afterwards achieved, held large estates in England; and though very ambitious prospects might have opened before him in Scotland, he thought it as well to preserve neutrality, and shut himself up in his castle at Ayr. John Comyn, who was afterwards his rival, and died by his hands, was one of the few who joined Wallace; and as he had some claims to the Scottish crown, it would seem that in his case they were sufficient to induce him to take the national side. Sir James Graham, and Macduff the thane of Fife, were among the most distinguished leaders who adhered to the patriot army.

9. BATTLE OF FALKIRK.—It would have been well if the others had been neutral; but two of them were driven by selfishness or jealousy to deliver Wallace and the national army into the hands of the English king. Edward was in a very critical position. Week after week passed without the arrival of the fleet which was to supply provisions. The troops were starving and discontented, and a large body of Welshmen, who had been compelled to join the army, threatened to desert and unite with the Scots. A retreat was at last ordered, and the haughty king was about, for the time at least, to abandon the invasion. It was at this juncture that the Earls of Dunbar

and Angus came secretly at day-dawn to the quarters of Bishop Beck, to inform him that Wallace was encamped with his force at Falkirk, intending thence to harass the English army. Edward, overjoyed by this intelligence, immediately cried out that they need not come to him—he would go to them. He was then stationed between Kirkliston and Edinburgh. Immediately a rapid march was commenced westward, and at night the army reached Linlithgow. In its silent and secret progress it was disturbed by an incident which might have been attended with serious consequences. Before reaching their destination, the troops were ordered to make a halt for a short period of refreshment and repose, and a horse starting in its sleep, turned suddenly over and wounded the slumbering monarch. A cry arose that the Scots were in the camp, and had slain the king; but the panic was soon composed by Edward's presence of mind.

Early in the morning of the 22d of July 1298, the small army under Wallace was surprised by the sudden appearance of the English. Had there been time to move away with safety he would have retreated, but both his intrepidity and his prudence suggested that to fight was the best policy. He made his arrangements with great ability. He knew the formidable character of Edward's heavy-armed horsemen, and he had very few troops of the same kind. It turned out, too, that those which he had were little to be depended on, for they were chiefly of that class of the aristocracy whose slight connexion with the country made them but lukewarm partisans, where they were not enemies; and most of them took to flight at the commencement of the battle. Wallace's dependence was on his foot-soldiers, consisting of archers, chiefly from Selkirk, and of men who carried long lances. Placing these archers in the spaces between, he arranged the lancers in close clumps, where they held their lances bristling forth obliquely from the ground, to resist the charge of cavalry. Keeping in view the difference in the material, his arrangement resembled the squares into which the British infantry were drawn up at Waterloo, to resist the charge of the mail-clad French cuirassiers.

His able arrangements were, however, all made in vain. Attacked by one division of the English army under the Earl-marshal of England, and by another headed by the impetuous Bishop Beck, the Scots were slaughtered in great crowds, and fairly broken by superiority of numbers. Sir James Graham,

faithful among the faithless, lay among the slain; and his ashes, deposited in the churchyard of Falkirk, have worthily been treated as those of a national hero. Wallace, collecting the broken remnant of his army, formed them in the shelter of a neighbouring wood, and was enabled to effect his retreat northwards.

10. JEALOUSIES AGAINST WALLACE.—This battle seemed to make Edward again master of Scotland. He proceeded to **lay** waste the estates of the nobles who had opposed him, and did not pass over those of Bruce, whom he proscribed for his neutrality; thus, probably, instigating the projects by which the conquest was afterwards reft from the crown of England. To encourage his English followers, the king promised to them the estates of the Scottish aristocracy; but this was a stipulation which involved him in perplexity; for the more desire he showed to forfeit the lordships of those who were neutral or wavering, the more he determined them to take the national side. At the same time he offended some of his more powerful nobles by failing to satisfy the expectations they had formed of obtaining the Scottish estates. Many disputes and discontents thus arising, while the scarcity continued, he could take little advantage of his victory at Falkirk. He was obliged, indeed, to retreat, and although he repeatedly projected new invasions, circumstances compelled him to delay them; so that, for a few years, Scotland still in some measure reaped the fruits of Wallace's intrepidity. The strong castle of Stirling, which had remained in the hands of an English garrison, was invested, and at length surrendered. He, however, who had been the cause of this partial national restoration was no longer permitted to lead the destinies of his country. The jealousies against Wallace, strengthened by his defeat at Falkirk, became more apparent and relentless. Comyn, his ambitious coadjutor, showed deadly enmity, and threatened to bring him to trial as a traitor. He resigned, therefore, his post as regent, and retired to lead his former life of independent wandering among the mountains. Comyn and John de Soulis, who had taken Stirling Castle, were made regents; and Bruce, with Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews, was afterwards joined to them.

11. FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.—At this point events taking place abroad served to save Scotland from the immediate fury of Edward, who was engaged in difficult negotiations with France. The Flemings at that time stood much in

the position towards France which the Scots held to England; they desired to preserve their independence, but the ambitious and powerful neighbouring sovereign wished to reign over them. It became the policy of the King of England to support the Flemings, as a method of counteracting his rival, the King of France, who, in his turn, gave his aid to the Scots. Early in the conflict, we have seen that France and Scotland declared themselves to be allies; and now the English monarch found how skilfully this might be worked to defeat his claims on Scotland. In the negotiations then going on, he was compelled to yield so far as to allow a truce to Scotland; but he would not permit the country to be called an independent nation, the ally of France; and, finally, he succeeded in establishing a separate treaty, which left him free to do towards his northern neighbour as he thought fit. His hands were in some measure held by another party. Pope Boniface unexpectedly claimed Scotland as a fief of the church, and required Edward to resign his pretensions. The king would very readily have paid all deference to the pope, had he ordered any thing agreeable to his wishes, but in a matter tending to frustrate his ambitious views he put the holy see at defiance. It was said that the pope had been bribed to take the part of Scotland, but he soon ceased to advocate the cause of so poor a country, and the papal influence rather favoured than thwarted the invader. The unhappy king, John Baliol, however, was personally befriended by the pope, and Edward did not object to let him be removed from England to Rome. He was, on the contrary, well pleased to see him depart; but the conqueror inflicted on his vassal the last insult of searching his baggage, among which a crown of gold, the great seal of Scotland, and some valuable ornaments were found.

12. RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES.—In the year 1300, Edward again invaded Scotland, but did not penetrate far. His chief operation was the siege of Caerlaverock. This event is interesting, because not only the ruins of the besieged towers may still be seen on the swampy shore of the Solway Frith, near Dumfries, but there is a minute contemporary narrative of the siege by a Norman historian or chronicler, which has been lately translated and published. This author says, "Caerlaverock was so strong a castle that it did not fear a siege; therefore, the king came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defence,

whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield, for it had only three towers all round, with a tower at each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate, with a drawbridge well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defences. It had good walls and good ditches, filled to the edge with water." Describing the operations for the siege, the chronicler says, that there "might be seen houses built without carpenters or masons, of many different fashions, and many a cord stretched with white and coloured cloth, with many pins driven into the ground, and many a large tree cut down to make huts." In those days, the only method of besieging such a place was by trying to beat in the walls and gates with hammers or other battering engines, while the garrison threw stones or melted lead from the walls, and the operations would be trifling when compared with a modern bombardment. The chronicler thus describes one of the leaders and his men battering at a gate: "Many a heavy and crushing stone did he of Kirkbride receive, but he placed before him a white shield with a green cross engrailed. So stoutly was the gate of the castle assailed by him, that never did smith with his hammer strike his iron as he and his did there. Notwithstanding there were showered upon them such large stones, quarles, and arrows, that with wounds and bruises they were so hurt and exhausted, that it was with great difficulty they were able to retire." It would be a very poor simile to compare a modern siege to a smith striking his anvil. At length the white flag of surrender was shown. The conquerors were surprised at the smallness of the garrison, consisting of sixty men, who would not have yielded had they not have been starved out,—so effectual a protection at that time were stone walls.

It more than balanced such a success as this, that, no farther north than Roslin, Segrave and some of the ablest English leaders were surprised and routed by a Scottish force under Comyn.

SECOND CONQUEST.—At length Edward resolved to march over the country and entirely subdue it to his will, and the fatal campaign of 1303 commenced. There was no sufficient force to resist him, for want and depression, with the absence of any great leading spirit, such as Wallace, rendered the Scots dispirited. The invader passed by Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, Perth, Dundee, Brechin, and Aber-

deen, oppressing and spoiling as he went. He marched as far northwards as Lochindorb in Inverness-shire. Here he established himself in a castle on an island in the lake, which still remains, a vestige of that age of castellated architecture. Thence he proceeded to Kildrummy on the Don in Aberdeen-shire, and there, too, the ruins of the castle with its round towers may still be seen,—a remote but striking memorial of those warlike times.

Some of the castles offered a protracted resistance. That of Brechin was bravely defended by Sir Thomas Maule, who was killed by one of the weapons of the besiegers as he stood on the ramparts offering them exulting defiance. Stirling stood a long siege. The present buildings there are not of so ancient a date, and the original castle was probably destroyed. It no doubt, however, stood on the same steep rock which is now so picturesquely crowned with buildings, and it long defied the attempts of the besiegers. Edward himself was occasionally struck by the missiles from the ramparts, but they appear to have done him little injury through his strong armour. With his indefatigable perseverance, after the siege had in vain gone on for several weeks, he raised up two batteries, one of them called the Wolfe, which overtopped the walls, and threw in stones and balls on the defenders. At the same time he employed a kind of combustible missile, known as the Greek fire, the composition and nature of which have given rise to much inquiry. The castle at last yielded, more from the intercepting of supplies than from other causes.

This invasion accomplished the conquest of Scotland for a time. Comyn, the governor, and a number of the barons of Norman extraction, who had been tempted to join in the war of independence, stipulating for the preservation of their lives and liberties, and also of their domains, were content to pay a fine for their rebellion, as it was termed, and to swear allegiance to the King of England. Wishart the bishop of Glasgow, James the Steward, Sir John Soulis who defended Stirling Castle, and some others, were exempted from these easy terms of capitulation. But the only man whose offence was unpardonable, and who was reserved for signal vengeance, was Wallace.

13. FATE OF WALLACE.—Conscious apparently that those who had taken the lead were actuated more by ambition than true national feeling, Wallace had kept aloof, fighting occasionally at the head of a small chosen band. Edward sparing



those who had been led by mere selfish motives, and who consequently could be more easily brought over to his own interests, resolved, with his usual pertinacity, to spare nothing for the capture and punishment of the most magnanimous leader of his day. Two men, Sir John de Mowbray and Sir Ralph de Haliburton, who, whether they were Scotchmen or not, held Scottish estates, were employed to hunt him down. His capture has always been deemed odious to those concerned in it, and thus a veil of mystery has been cast over the transaction. A baron, called Menteith, properly Sir John Stewart of Menteith, bore the odium of betraying his retreat; but it is thought that he only was the instrument of transferring the captive to England. Edward proceeded to his destruction as to that of a powerful enemy; and not even Wallace's victories have cast so great a lustre on his name as the vindictive cruelty with which he was put to death.

He was conveyed through the streets of London in mock triumph, with a crown of laurel on his head, to stand a trial in Westminster Hall, for committing high-treason as an English subject against the King of England. True to his principles, he indignantly denied that he had ever been a subject of Edward, or given him allegiance in any form; but it was of course useless to urge such a plea to one whose aim it was to make the people of Scotland his subjects. On the 23d of August 1305, the sentence of death for treason was executed. The method of putting to death those convicted of this crime was long a scandal to England as odiously cruel, and unfit as a punishment for the most heinous offences. Wallace was dragged through the streets by horses' tails to the place of execution. He was then hanged; but it was the duty of the executioner not to break the neck, according to the more humane system, but to suspend the victim in torture, and cut him down just as death was approaching to end his sufferings. The half dead but still sensitive body was then subjected to more disgusting if not savage treatment, for the heart and bowels were taken out that they might be burnt before his face,—an operation in which the cruelty of man was in some measure defeated by a beneficent wisdom, which placing a limit to suffering, released the victim from life before the deed was completed. Wallace's body was quartered, and the parts distributed throughout England and Scotland. The head decorated London Bridge, his right arm was exposed at Newcastle, and his left at Berwick, while the remainder

was divided between Perth and Aberdeen. This cruel vengeance was by no means so gratifying to the people of England as to their king. They had in fact a sympathy with their brethren in Scotland, as men struggling against the same Norman despotism which had oppressed themselves, and they felt for Wallace rather as for a fellow-Saxon coadjutor than a Scottish enemy.

## EXERCISES.

1. What was likely to increase the influence of the English king's claims on Scotland? Mention the relationship to the last king of the chief claimants. For whom did Edward decide? How did Edward obtain an opportunity to deprive Baliol of the crown?
2. Give an account of what occurred when Baliol was threatened. How did Edward act as to the high offices in Scotland? What is the reason why so many of the aristocracy who held domains in Scotland were indifferent to the fate of the country?
3. What kind of reputation did the hero Wallace achieve among his countrymen? Give an idea of the extent to which rigid inquiry has justified his reputation.
4. In what shape has it been said that the struggle commenced? How did followers gather round him? Mention people of importance who joined him.
5. What were the first blows aimed by him against the invaders? Describe the character of the war. What occurred near him?
6. What was the important pass which Wallace desired to defend? Mention the place where he took up his position, and the reasons for selecting it. Describe the manner in which the victory was achieved.
7. What was the result of the victory? How did Wallace act after it? Mention a document throwing light on the position which he assumed. Under what circumstances was Wallace made governor?
8. How did King Edward act? How did his English parliament proceed? What policy did Wallace adopt to meet him? How was he thwarted?
9. How were Wallace and King Edward placed? Describe the manner in which Wallace's army was defeated at Falkirk.
10. What were the immediate consequences of the battle of Falkirk? Mention the causes of jealousy arising on the English side. How did the aristocracy act towards Wallace?
11. What continental people held the same position towards France as the Scots held to England? Give an account of the position in which King Edward stood towards Scotland and the pope.
12. Give an account of a siege conducted when hostilities recommenced. What were the results of the campaign of 1303? Mention some sieges which occurred.
13. What was the conduct of Wallace? How was he delivered up to the English? What was his fate? What portion of the English people had a sympathy with him, and why?

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE BATTLE OF  
BANNOCKBURN, A.D. 1297—1314.

Annexation to England—Robert Bruce—Bruce and Comyn—Raising the Standard—Regal Investment—Internal Enemies—Misfortunes and Wanderings—M'Dougal of Lorn—Cruelties and Retaliations—Bruce's Return—Beginning of Success—Death of Edward I.—Highland War—Resumption of national Government—Capture of Forts—Invasion by England—Battle of Bannockburn.

1. ANNEXATION TO ENGLAND.—The strong castles throughout Scotland were now well garrisoned. The courts of law and other matters of internal arrangement were recognised. There was not much to alter in the real essence of the laws, which resembled those of England, and this of course rendered it more easy to change the machinery. What was chiefly done was to make it all centre in the monarch at London instead of the monarch at Edinburgh. Hence English justiciaries or chief justices, with English circuit courts, were appointed, while the landed proprietors were required at regular intervals to offer at these their feudal homage. Everything was done that sagacity could suggest to make Scotland seem as if it had always been a part of England, and skilful persons were even employed to forge public documents, which might confirm the notion that Scotland was a dependency of the English crown. Thus it was expected that a few years of regular government would make the people forget their independence.

ROBERT BRUCE.—An ambitious and able man, however, was destined to turn this feeling of independence to effect before it was entirely extinguished. The limbs of Wallace had not yet dropped from the iron stakes, when the conquering monarch, Robert Bruce, entered the field. He was the grandson of that Bruce who had been a competitor for the crown, and naturally the family never entirely lost sight of the chances of obtaining it: hence, as they enjoyed large estates both in England and Scotland, they were narrowly watched by Edward. The fame of Bruce has no pretension to the same elevation as that of Wallace, since his motives were of a personal and ambitious character; but he earned the reputation of fairly carrying out the cause he adopted, and

he well deserved the lasting gratitude of the people over whom he aspired to rule. As a Norman knight, connected with England as much as with Scotland, he could not be expected to feel the ignominy of the conquest as a native Scotsman felt it. But it was deemed a laudable object of ambition in those days to win a crown by arms; and seldom indeed has the glittering reward been gained so eminently to the advantage of the people, as when Bruce restored the independence of Scotland.

2. BRUCE AND COMYN.—He had a powerful rival in Comyn, the same who had been regent of the kingdom, and who was traditionally known as the Red Comyn. If Baliol had a better claim to the throne than Bruce's grandfather, then it might be said that Comyn had a better claim than Bruce himself. Baliol had resigned the crown both for himself and his son, then a youth in captivity. Marjory Baliol, his sister, had married the Lord of Badenoch, the father of Comyn, who thus was nephew of him who had been acknowledged king of the Scots. The Bruces had remained quiet during the previous contests, doubtless in the expectation that as Comyn and some of the other competitors joined with Wallace, Edward would prefer their claims to the throne when the others were put down. But now that Edward seemed resolved to keep Scotland in his own hands, the competitors had a motive to unite against him as a common enemy. The two most important, both for their ambitious active characters and the extent of their possessions, were Bruce and Comyn. They held a conference together, in which Bruce proposed that one of them should strike for the crown and leave the estates of both to the other. This offer simply was: "Support my claims on the crown, and you shall have all my estates as well as your own; or, if you like it better, try for the crown, and give me your estates, and I shall support you."

It appears that Comyn agreed to the former alternative, but he did not enter heartily into the arrangement. Indeed he had a rankling animosity against Bruce, who he saw was trusted and in possession of all his estates, while he himself had been punished for taking the command of the revolted Scots. Comyn, to reinstate himself with Edward, gave information about Bruce's ambitious designs. It was not the English king's practice to act on the impulse of the moment, and he waited until Bruce had further committed himself, so that he might be entirely crushed. This young prince, unconsciously enjoying the seeming favour of the monarch, received

a private hint of his danger from his kinsman the Earl of Gloucester; and tradition says it came in the shape of a gift of a pair of spurs. He immediately fled to Scotland, accompanied by a few friends.

As the small body riding hard approached the Borders, and were nearly out of immediate danger, they met a messenger hurrying for England. Something prompted them to intercept him, and the despatches which he bore proved that Comyn had betrayed Bruce. It happened that at that juncture the two rivals had to appear as crown-vassals in the court of the justiciary sitting at Dumfries. Bruce demanded a private conference with Comyn, and they retired together into the church of the Franciscan convent. There high words arose. Bruce charged Comyn with treachery, and he in his turn gave  
 10th Feb. } his accuser the lie. It was an age of violence. Bruce  
 1306. } in a rage drew his dagger and stabbed Comyn. Instantly feeling remorse for the deed, more perhaps because it was done within the consecrated precincts of the church than from the act itself, he fled to his horse. His agitation was noticed by his followers, Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, to whom he said in explanation, "I doubt me, I have killed Comyn." Kirkpatrick said, "If you doubt, I mak sicker," or secure; and, rushing into the church, he despatched the wounded man. A relative of Comyn's ran to his assistance, but was also stabbed by Kirkpatrick, whose descendants, in memory of the deed, to this day bear on their crest a bloody dagger, with the motto, "I mak sicker;" the science of heraldry being sometimes devoted to the honour of deeds of criminal violence.

3. RAISING THE STANDARD.—The die was now cast: Bruce was in a double difficulty: he had not only declared war on Edward by slaying his obsequious servant, but he had also incurred the denunciations of the church by committing violence within the sanctuary. Bruce and his followers immediately fell upon the castle of Dumfries and seized it, burning the hall where the justiciaries were sitting to receive them as feudal vassals. They then proceeded to the strong castle of Lochmaben, in a neighbouring lake in the centre of Bruce's private domains, and thence he sent despatches intimating that he had come to restore the independence of Scotland, and claim the crown.

The leaders who rallied round Bruce at that time did not make a numerous list. It contained two earls, Atholl and Lennox, and fourteen of the barons or inferior nobility. It

must be remembered, however, that there were very few native Scottish nobles at that time, and even of the few who joined Bruce, a considerable number were his own Norman connexions, such as his four brothers, his nephew Randolph, and his brother-in-law Christopher Seyton. The prelates of the Scottish church looked with jealousy on the prospect of the ecclesiastical authority of England, and two of them, Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, and Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, heartily and efficiently aided Bruce. Their services were of eminent importance in giving sanctity to the cause, and obviating the consequences of the slaughter he had committed within a consecrated edifice.

**REGAL INVESTMENT.**—With characteristic promptitude, he immediately set off to be crowned at Scone, the place where, by immemorial practice, the kings of Scotland were inaugurated to their dignity and functions. On his way, he was met and joined by the most renowned of his followers, Sir James Douglas. For his father's co-operation with Wallace, the estates of the family had been forfeited, and conferred on the English Lord Clifford, and the heir was now to aid in Bruce's restoration, and regain his own paternal domains. The coronation took place on the 25th of March 1306. The regalia, along with the stone, which had acquired a sacred character as the palladium of Scotland, had been removed to England. A golden circlet was supplied by the Bishop of Glasgow from his ecclesiastical treasures to serve as a crown, and the want of other symbols was compensated by an act of romantic zeal, calculated to increase the interest of the adventurous monarch's position. The clan Macduff having exercised the immemorial privilege of placing the Scottish monarch on the throne, it was claimed by Isabella, countess of Buchan, a member of the house, in the absence of her brother the Earl of Fife, who, as an adherent of Edward, might be considered to have forfeited the privilege.

**INTERNAL ENEMIES.**—Bruce had many powerful enemies in Scotland, especially in the highland districts. The Comyns predominated in the Inverness highlands, and to their old rivalry added the deepest personal hatred against Bruce. In the west, the Lord of the Isles, deeming himself a sort of independent monarch, made an alliance with Edward, preferring much for his own safety and power that Scotland should be ruled by an English king. Another highland potentate who was his great rival, the Earl of Ross, was equally hostile to

Bruce, but was too distant to injure him effectually. John of Lorn, the great chief of the Argyllshire highlanders, held from Edward the office of Great Admiral of the West, and he, too, was Bruce's implacable enemy. Added to these were the wild tribes of Galloway, under the leader M'Dowal.

4. MISFORTUNES AND WANDERINGS.—The first warlike operations of the adventurous monarch were unfortunate. At Methven, near Perth, he was surprised and defeated by the Earl of Pembroke. He was for a moment an actual captive, but he was rescued, and showed his skill by the manner in which he conducted his small band of followers into a retreat among the wilds of Atholl. He had the mortification, from time to time, of hearing that his partisans were falling into the enemy's hands, and two of the most distinguished of them, the Earl of Atholl and Sir Simon Fraser, suffered, like Wallace, the barbarous punishment of the English treason-law. Bruce now himself encountered a series of stern hardships and wild adventures, and his escapes were as wonderful as any that history or even romance records. Wandering among the vast ranges of the northern Grampians, he and his followers were obliged to subsist on the uncertain produce of the chase, and were often without the means of obtaining their daily food. The poetical chronicler of Bruce's career, John Barbour, arch-deacon of Aberdeen, whose local knowledge enabled him to describe such matters with precision, tells us that their shoes being worn out, they ventured into the Lowlands to be refitted at Aberdeen. There, unexpectedly, they met with dear friends, Bruce's wife, the queen of Scotland as she nominally was, and some female followers, wives of his most valuable adherents, escorted by his brother, Nigel Bruce. They were soon obliged, by the approach of English troops, to abandon such comforts as the northern metropolis afforded them, and retreat again to the hills, where they would be in comparative safety. According to the chivalrous principles of that age, the women might have been deemed sacred in the hands even of an enemy; but Edward was always too determined on his object to follow any customs, however laudable, which interfered with it. He showed how relentless he could be to women, when he got possession of the Countess of Buchan, whom, for the act of having crowned Robert Bruce, he hung in a cage outside the wall of Berwick castle, keeping her there for years exposed to the gaze of the passers by, that all might see how little he regarded the humanizing rules of

chivalry, and how remorselessly he punished all who opposed his tyrannical will.

The female followers of Bruce and his party thus preferred participation in their hardships to the chance of falling into the hands of the cruel Edward. They had to wander as far westward among the mountains as the Breadalbane country in Perthshire. There, the king and his knightly followers employed the skill they had acquired in sports of the chase for the sustenance of life. They were all imbued with the spirit of chivalry or knight-errantry, which, however numerous may have been its absurdities, at least encouraged patient endurance of hardship and gallant courtesy to women. The poet Barbour has given an interesting account of their efforts to provide food by hunting, fowling, and fishing, and their endeavours to make the position of the ladies as agreeable as possible. Douglas distinguished himself in both capacities, and proved a successful huntsman and assiduous squire, ever ready to do any service, however humble. But it was from the indomitable spirit of Bruce himself that all the party drew hope and animation. Of his careful conduct of his party, and the cheerful philosophy he inculcated among them, Barbour gives this pleasant description, which, when the spelling is a little modernized, is easily intelligible :—

The king that night his watches set,  
And strait ordain'd that they might eat,  
And bade comfort to them take,  
And at their nightes merry make,  
“ For discomfort,” as then said he,  
“ Is the one thing that may not be,  
For through mickle discomforting,  
Man falls oft in despairing;  
And if a man despair'd be,  
Then truly vanquished is he;  
And if the heart be discomfit,  
The body is not worth a mite.  
Therefore,” he said, “ above all thing,  
Keep you from despairing,  
And think, though we now harms feel,  
That God may yet relieve us weel.  
Men read of many men that were  
Far harder stead than we yet are;  
And since our Lord such grace them lent,  
That they came well to their intent.”

5. M'DOUGAL OF LORN.—In the highland districts where they thus found refuge, the party were unfortunately very close to the country of Bruce's great enemy, M'Dougal of Lorn. They frequently harassed and attacked him, and on one



occasion, in the wilds of Glendochart, the prowess of Bruce in defending a narrow pass, where the highlanders had set an ambushade, saved his party from a large body of the enemy. The deeds attributed to him might seem fabulous, did not we remember that he was not only a man of vast strength, and trained to war in company with the greatest champions of the day, but that he was clad in mail, while his opponents were generally half-clothed mountaineers. One of his personal feats has been recorded as a true act of chivalrous prowess. Three of the M'Dougals had sworn to put him to death, or die in the attempt. Their attack was made as he rode through a narrow path between a rock and a lake. One of them confronted him and seized the bridle of his horse, but was instantly cut down, while another who seized his leg and attempted to unhorse him, shared the same fate. The third was not so easily dealt with : he leaped from the rock, and, alighting on the horse behind the king, grasped him tightly round the waist. Bruce struck the spurs in his horse, and drove down his assailant as he galloped on, either with the pummel of his sword or with a small mace. According to the tradition, however, of the brooch of Lorn, this third assailant grasped tightly the mantle of Bruce, who released himself by undoing the clasp, which fell as a spoil to the M'Dougal. An ancient brooch, at all events, belonged to that family, and was destroyed by a fire at a comparatively late period. It consisted of a ring of metal, having a circular row of elevations like small pillars, each with a gem set in its top ; and has been the model in which many richly ornamented highland brooches have lately been formed. In the "Lord of the Isles" there is this poetic allusion to it. A Highland minstrel asks :—

Whence the brooch of burning gold,  
That clasps the chieftain's mantle-fold ?

And after many fanciful conjectures about its origin, he proceeds to say :—

No!—thy splendours nothing tell  
Foreign art or faëry spell.  
Moulded thou for monarch's use,  
By the overweening Bruce,  
When the royal robe he tied  
O'er a heart of wrath and pride.

6. CRUELITIES AND RETALIATIONS.—Finding it impossible to pursue his wandering life with safety, Bruce resolved to part with his relations and followers, and with a melancholy fare-

well, such as is exchanged between those who, dearly attached, yet are likely never to meet again, they separated. His brother Nigel took charge of the queen and her daughter, and conveyed them to the strong castle of Kildrummy, where, not deeming themselves safe, they sought refuge in the sanctuary of St Duthac at Tain, in Ross-shire. The Earl of Ross, however, one of Bruce's northern enemies, was not restrained by the nature of the spot, but seized them and sent them to Edward, by whom they were subjected to a cruel and protracted imprisonment. They judged rightly in believing that they were not safe in Kildrummy. The castle was taken, and its gallant young defender, Bruce's brother, suffered the fate of Wallace in an ignominious death.

The ferocious cruelties of Edward, indeed, fostered a relentless system of retaliation, in which Douglas, known so well as the Black Douglas, was conspicuous. He made himself the terror of the Borders, and his name, like that of Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine, was employed to frighten the children of the English peasantry. His retributions were signally fierce against the English garrison which kept his own paternal castle in Douglasdale. In one of these, he fell upon the garrison when at church on a solemn festival, and, defeating them, seized on Castle Douglas. Knowing that he could not keep it, he yet resolved that it should not serve the enemy, and collecting all the meal and other victuals intended to serve the garrison, he piled them in a heap, staving the wine-casks and pouring their contents over the mass. It would have been well had this savage sort of frolic stopped here; but Douglas slaying the prisoners threw their dead bodies also on the heap, and then burned down the castle along with its hideous contents, which the Borderers in their traditions called the Douglas Larder.

**BRUCE'S RETURN.**—Bruce in the mean time found refuge in the small island of Rathlin, on the coast of Ireland. It is to his sojourn here that the legend refers, which says, that one night lying sleepless on his wretched couch, he saw a spider attempt to sling its cord across a space, and after failing four times succeed in the fifth attempt. The moral of perseverance was taken home, and the adventurer, counting four disasters which he had suffered, resolved to try again. He passed over to the isle of Arran with about 300 followers; but, before attempting to land in his own domains, he sent a faithful messenger to light a fire on an eminence near his pa-

ternal castle of Turnberry should the coast prove clear. The castle was occupied by the Lord Percy and a strong garrison, so that no beacon was to be lit; but a fire was accidentally kindled for some different purpose by another person. Bruce came over; but when he was told of his mistake, in the spirit of chivalry and fatalism, he resolved to take the accident as an omen and go forward to his destiny. Besides the English force, he was beset by the Galwegian tribe, whose name of M'Dowal has a close resemblance to that of his enemies in Lorn, with whom they were united in aiding the English in pursuit of Bruce. In Barbour it is told how they possessed a bloodhound which had belonged to Bruce, and would therefore be serviceable in tracking him. When pursued, Bruce divided his followers to surprise the enemy; but, led by the hound, the whole body kept full chase on the portion which Bruce accompanied. Again and again he subdivided his little band, but wherever he went the whole host pursued. Then hearing the bay of the hound, the fugitive prince bethought him that the animal cannot employ its wonderful power of smell through the medium of a running stream, and passing down the bed of a rivulet he baffled his pursuers and escaped. The rigid accuracy of these incidents, which are told in verse, is sometimes doubted; but, at all events, they show the anecdotes current among the Scottish people about their favourite king.

7. BEGINNING OF SUCCESS.—Thus he landed only to recommence his personal adventures and dangers; but some success began at last to gleam on him. The vassals on his estates, with other trusty followers, gathered round him; he had a band large enough occasionally to cope with the English forces in the west and their highland auxiliaries; and at length he was master of those south-western provinces anciently named Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham. He was at length threatened by a large force under Pembroke; but he stationed his small army on the strong position of Loudon Hill, and there with their long spears they stood their ground so well that the body of heavy cavalry, by whom they were attacked, was broken and put to flight. Though the Scots were not strong enough to give chase, such a victory was decidedly cheering. Threatened by Richmond with a larger force, he retreated northwards across the Grampians, where he encountered his bitterest enemies the Comyns. A battle was fought between them at Inverury, on the river Don, in which Bruce was trium-

phant, and he immediately took signal vengeance by the harrying, as it was called, of Buchan, the domain of his enemies. This decided success roused the popular feeling, which was immediately manifested by the citizens of the neighbouring town of Aberdeen, who surprised the English garrison and seized the castle.

**DEATH OF EDWARD I.**—Just before these successes, however, an event had occurred which perhaps was still more important to the restoration of Scottish nationality,—the death of King Edward. Though advanced in years, and wasted by disease, the rising fortunes of Bruce, reminding him of what Wallace had achieved, prompted him to return to Scotland at the head of an army, though his infirmities compelled him to be borne in a litter. His obdurate determination to reduce Scotland to obedience was an example of the ruling spirit strong in death, for he expired at the village of Burgh-upon-Sands on the 7th of July 1307. Nor, if the strange tale of Froissart, the French chronicler, is to be believed, did he despair of terrifying the Scots by his presence after his death, since he desired that the flesh might be boiled from his bones, and his skeleton conveyed with the army that was to reconquer Scotland.

The dying monarch had good reason to feel that his own presence was necessary to preserve his conquests. In utter contrast to his stern, ambitious, indomitable temper, his son was weak and changeable, and delegated his authority to paltry favourites. A considerable army of English and Galwegians was attacked on the Water of Cree and defeated. Still the main resistance was here and in the western highlands, whence Donald of the Isles brought an army to help the Galwegians; and it was only after repeated victories, in which the valour of Edward Bruce was conspicuous, and the siege of several castles, that this western district, consisting of people of a peculiar race and language, was subdued. Douglas in the mean time was successful on the eastern border, and he brought to his master a captive of peculiar value, in Bruce's own nephew, Thomas Randolph. He transferred his allegiance from the King of England to his heroic uncle, with the ease with which the Norman knights of that age changed masters; but ever after he was a true and valorous supporter of Bruce himself and of the Scottish nation.

**8. HIGHLAND WAR.**—When Bruce found himself at the head of a considerable force, so long as he remained unassailed by a

powerful army from England, which he naturally expected, the most important object to be achieved was the subjugation of his bitter enemy M'Dougal of Lorne. He fought a decisive battle with this highland potentate on the rocky descent of Glen Cruachan, towards Loch Etive. As the contest went on, the chief of Lorne watched it from his galley on the lake, while Bruce himself was engaged in the conflict. Instead of combating as a rebel against his lawful king, the chief indeed considered himself much in the light of a sovereign who was opposing an adventurer, and it might seem more consistent with his dignity to look on at a distance than to take a part in the combat. But Bruce had obtained expertness in highland warfare from hard experience. So had his indefatigable supporter Douglas, who climbed with a body of archers up the mountain-side to assail the highlanders from above ; and at length John of Lorne saw his host defeated by the strangers. He fled to his castle of Dunstaffnage, on a point of land near Oban, where a fortress of later date still exists. The Lord of Lorne was at length vanquished, and became the liegeman of King Robert ; but the galleys, which formed at that time a considerable part of the force of the chiefs of that district, were carried over by the earl's son to the service of the King of England.

RESUMPTION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—The death of Edward the First was soon perceptible in the state of Scotland. His successor appointed governors of the realm, and issued edicts against those whom he called the rebels, but did nothing ; and Bruce and his followers had ample reason to feel that their indefatigable enemy was no more. From being a hunted wanderer, he had risen to the head of an army ; but he was now to take the more assured position of constitutional monarch, acknowledged by the representatives of the nation. In the year 1310, a great council was held at Dundee, where it was decided that in the competition for the crown, Bruce's grandfather, Robert, Lord of Annandale, should have been preferred to Baliol, and Bruce himself was accordingly declared sovereign of the realm. If not properly speaking a parliament, the assemblage had as close a parallel to such a body as the circumstances of the time permitted.

9. CAPTURE OF FORTS.—In the meantime, one by one, the fortresses in the hands of English garrisons were taken. In that age, so long as victuals lasted, a strong place could be held in spite of all that an enemy, even if possessed of the whole country, could do, unless it were captured by strata-

gem. Hence the annalists describe with great glee the plots by which the fortresses were seized. Thus it is said of Linlithgow, that a waggoner, named Binny, was walking in beside a wain laden with hay, when, just as it got under the portcullis, the harness ropes were cut, so that the waggon stuck there. Armed men immediately crept from beneath the hay. The portcullis, being a grated doorway sliding up and down by the aid of ropes or chains, could not fall while the waggon stood below it; and thus there was a free entrance for men placed in ambush without. The surprise of Roxburgh was accomplished in a manner more like the practice of American Indians, by Douglas and his followers, who, according to the legend, approached the castle creeping on their hands and knees, with black cloaks over their armour, which made them seem like cattle moving about in the brushwood. The most difficult of these achievements was, however, the capture of Edinburgh Castle, which was effected by Randolph. We know little of the nature of the castellated building at that period, as there is probably no part of the present edifice which then existed, except the small Norman chapel of St Mary, lately used as a powder-magazine, but now refitted for religious purposes. The rock on which it stood, however, was then lofty and precipitous as we now see it; and though a modern besieging train of artillery would soon beat it to pieces, it kept Randolph for six weeks uselessly attempting every method to subdue it. A soldier who had once been in the garrison, had made himself familiar with a method of climbing the rock when he made stolen visits to his sweetheart in the city. He engaged to show the perilous path to an assailing party, who succeeded in creeping up one by one. A singular instance of the value of prudence and caution occurred during this adventure. When Randolph and his followers were resting on a projection of the rock, a soldier above called out, "I see you," and tossed down a stone which passed near them. Had they moved, either from impatience or fear, all must have been lost; but they remained quiet, and it appeared that the soldier, either having seen nothing, or not supposing that what he saw was an enemy, had been merely amusing himself. The party reached the top of the wall in safety; but on descending they had a severe struggle with the garrison before the fortress was taken. The castle of Dundee was captured by Edward Bruce. While the fortresses were thus recovered one after another, a Scottish army was making retaliation for the national injuries

by plundering-incursions into England, as in the days of Wallace.

Stirling was the only important stronghold still remaining in the hands of the invaders, and its fate is intimately connected with the brilliant conclusion of the war of independence. It was besieged by Edward Bruce. Mowbray the governor, fearing that the garrison would become straitened for provisions, made an arrangement of a kind common then and in more recent times,—namely to yield the castle unless it was relieved before the ensuing midsummer, or, in other words, unless an English force should appear ere that time, sufficiently strong to drive away the besiegers.

10. INVASION BY ENGLAND.—It appears to have been by this engagement that the irresolute King Edward was roused to make one grand effort to recover the conquests of his father. The spirit of chivalry naturally animated the popular feeling in favour of a beleaguered garrison, and though there was considerable discontent in England, the general muster of the vassals of the crown was cordially complied with.

Even in the great military movements of the late European war, it was seldom that a force so large as that which now invaded Scotland was engaged in one battle. According to the best authorities, the army of King Edward exceeded 100,000 men, and of these it is said that 40,000 were horsemen ; or about a third more than the force on the British side at Waterloo. It is possible for armies to be too numerous for their own safety ; and perhaps the unwieldy size of this one may have contributed to its defeat at Bannockburn, like that of the French at Cressy and Agincourt.

Bruce gathered his forces in the Torwood, near Stirling,—one of the scenes of Wallace's adventurous career. All that he could muster was 40,000 men,—a large army for Scotland at that time. Utterly disproportioned as it was to the English, yet there was the sole alternative that the independence of the country must be fought for or abandoned without a struggle. But in risking a battle, the king resolved to place his small army on difficult ground ; so that if the overwhelming force of the King of England, haughty in its strength, should determine to attack him at once, he would at least have the advantage of position.

11. BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.—Near Stirling the burn of the Bannock, descending the slope of the Campsie Fells, passes through a manufacturing village and drives its mills. On the

banks of this stream Bruce took up his position, and under the name of Bannockburn the spot has become memorable for one of the greatest victories in the history of the middle ages, and the most important conflict in which Scotland was ever engaged. An inspection of the ground at the present day shows how skilfully it was selected. Not too steep and rugged for the operations of a large body of troops, it was yet sufficiently inaccessible to give a decided advantage to those who had possession of it. There was then probably more brushwood on the declivities and on the rugged edges of the stream, and a great part of the flatter ground, now well drained and waving with corn, was then a quaking bog. It was of importance, too, that a line of swelling hills rose behind the Scottish army, so that if necessary they might retreat without being scattered, while their assailants had behind them the broad plain of the Torwood. It does not follow that when an army takes up a strong position it is to be attacked there; and Bruce might have found a spot even more favourable, which the English army could have compelled him to leave by besieging the castles and devastating the kingdom. But the peculiar felicity in the choice of Bannockburn was, that it commanded the passage towards Stirling Castle, which the English army were marching to relieve. It was clearly visible from the ramparts, and the chivalry of England would have the satisfaction of performing their feats of valour under the eyes of those whom they were marching to relieve.

To render the advantages of the ground still greater, numerous holes were dug in the marshy approach, and concealed with a covering of twigs and furze,—a device well calculated to impede the advance of heavy cavalry and throw them into confusion. Thus fortified by nature and art, Bruce disposed his army in a line from the rising of the hill nearest to Stirling Castle on to the edge of the Bannock Burn; and, confident that if his troops were steady he had a fair chance of gaining the day, awaited the approach of his powerful enemy.

Nothing could be more grand or formidable than Edward's battle-array. The great wealth of the English lords who crowded to the conquest of Scotland provided them with brilliant burnished mail which glittered in the sun, gallant powerful horses for charging the enemy, and banners woven with golden thread, and all the varied rich colours of the heraldic devices of the day; and these were not an empty display of luxury, but were accompanied by the energy and determi-



nation of brave and high-spirited knights. The first trial of arms was in an attempt by Clifford to carry forward a body of cavalry to the relief of Stirling Castle. Randolph, posted in the way, opposed him with a small compact body of Scottish spearmen, and after a steady resistance drove them back. This skirmish gave heart to the Scots, more especially as it was attended by a noble act of generosity on the part of Douglas, who, against the commands of the king, rode up to succour Randolph; but, seeing him likely to be victorious, stood looking on, that he might not detract from the achievement of his brother-soldier. This was followed by another passage of arms, which affords a still more remarkable instance of the chivalrous spirit of the age. Bruce himself, wearing an ornamented golden circlet round his helmet as an ensign of royalty, was seen riding before his line of battle in full armour, but mounted on a small horse or pony called a hackney. An English Norman knight, Sir Henry de Bohun, mounted on his charger, rode forward towards the king in the manner of one knight challenging another to single combat. It was usual in that age for individual combatants, or for two, three, or four on a side, thus to engage in the intervals of serious conflict, both armies looking with interest on the feats of their respective champions. But it was peculiarly unjustifiable in great leaders to join in these personal contests, since they endangered not only their own lives, but the safety of their armies. It would be difficult to say what might have been the result had Bruce been killed on that occasion; but he was a knight of renowned skill and prowess, and the end justified his self-reliance. By a skilful movement he evaded the Norman knight's charge with the lance, and, turning quickly round, cleft his skull through the iron helmet with a blow of a small battle-axe, which was shattered in the act.

12. It was next day, the 24th of June 1314, that the great battle began at daybreak. The first sight beheld by the English was the front ranks of the Scots kneeling as the Abbot of Inchaffray passed before them and gave his exhortation and blessing. The sight is said to have suggested to the English king that they knelt for mercy; but he was undeceived by Sir Ingraham de Umfraville, who told him that they knelt indeed, but it was to a higher power, and the act only intimated their determination to yield to no earthly one. Bruce's disposition of his forces was the same which had been devised with so much forethought by Wallace. It was to place the

Scottish spearmen in thick clumps or squares, in which they should patiently await the charges of the English horsemen. He made, however, an important addition to the arrangements. The bowmen, with their long heavy arrows, were becoming a more formidable part of the English armies than even the Norman knights mounted on their powerful horses. To counteract the enemy's superiority in this respect, Bruce selected a small body of light cavalry, to rush upon the archers and throw them into confusion when preparing their bows for a discharge. When the flight of arrows began, under cover of which the English horsemen were to charge forward, this skilful manœuvre was accomplished, and the bowmen were thrown into disorder; while the cavalry, as they advanced, became entangled in the moss, or fell into the pits dug for their reception. As they thus moved forward in confusion, the Scottish lancers, instead of being thinned by the shafts of the English bowmen, received them in compact phalanx. The battle between the broken masses of Edward's unwieldy army and the small but steady body of their opponents proceeded for some time doubtfully, until it was settled by a curious and unexpected incident. Immediately above Bannockburn, the Campsie Fells rise to an abrupt and distinct but not a very lofty ridge. Behind this, as a place of safety, Bruce had placed his camp-followers with the baggage. Whether seized with a desire to see the battle, or from whatever cause, they all at once ascended to the ridge of the hill, where they presented a very formidable appearance. The English army, mistaking them for a fresh reserve marching to join Bruce, was immediately broken. On this, the Scots charged forward, and the horsemen, previously so formidable, now only counteracted and impeded each other. The whole mass at last turned and fled across the plain in irretrievable confusion, the Scots pursuing them, and slaying or taking prisoners until they were tired.

The English monarch, unlike the other princes of his heroic race, was foremost in the flight. He appealed for admission to Stirling Castle; but the governor De Mowbray reminded him that by treaty the castle must be given up, since the host which came to relieve it was defeated. On this the king, who that morning had been at the head of the proudest chivalry of Europe, fled to Dunbar, whence he escaped in a boat to his own dominions.

This great and decisive victory showed that the heavy-armed Norman warriors were losing their superiority over

peasant troops. In like manner, in the following year, at the battle of Morgarten in Switzerland, in many respects similar to that of Bannockburn, the chosen troops of Austria were vanquished by the Swiss mountaineers. An enormous booty was obtained in the rich tents, horse-furniture, arms, and money of the nobles who fell or were taken prisoners at Bannockburn. For the latter, enormous sums were paid as ransom; but England could not redeem the flower of her chivalry slain on the field or cut down in the flight. That great nation had never in her Continental wars suffered so terrible a humiliation as from the poor neighbour whom her rulers were so unwarrantably endeavouring to enslave.

## EXERCISES.

1. Describe the changes made in Scotland. With what object were they made? What kind of champion succeeded to Wallace? What was Bruce's position?

2. Who was Bruce's rival? What was the foundation of Comyn's claims? What arrangement was proposed by Bruce? Give an account of the events which compelled Bruce to declare himself.

3. What were the first acts of Bruce? What followers had he? Whom did he meet in his way to Scone? Describe the manner of his coronation. What enemies had he in Scotland?

4. What occurred at Methven? Describe the character of King Robert's life after that event. What occurred at Aberdeen? What actions of severity did Edward commit? What does the poet Barbour describe?

5. Whose district did the wanderers approach? Describe the incident in Glendochart. What relic was connected with it?

6. What farther calamities did the royal family endure? What was the effect of Edward's cruelties? How did Douglas act? Mention an incident which is said to have renewed Bruce's courage. In what did he return to Scotland?

7. In what shape did Bruce first achieve success? What occurred at Inverury? What death was of importance to the cause? Compare Edward the First's character with his son's. What new adherent was obtained?

8. What great object had Bruce to achieve in the Highlands? What victory was gained there? What took place at Dundee?

9. What was the influence of fortifications at that period? What fortresses were taken? Give an account of the stratagems by which some of them were surprised. What occurred with regard to Stirling?

10. Give an account of the English invading army. Give an account of the Scottish army of defence.

11. Describe the place where Bruce took up his position, and the reasons for selecting it. How was the Scots army placed? What incident occurred to Randolph and Douglas? Describe the encounter of Bruce and De Bohun.

12. When was the battle of Bannockburn fought? What was the nature of Bruce's disposition of his forces? Give an account of the battle. What were its results?

## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN TO THE ACCESSION  
OF THE HOUSE OF STUART, A.D. 1314—1370.

Settlement of the Crown—Effect of the War—King Robert—Inroad on Ireland—Renewal of Hostilities—Final Settlement—Death of Bruce—David—Edward III. and renewed Hostilities—Baliol—Edward—Continuation of the War—Restoration of the Monarchy.

1. SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN.—Scotland was now free from invaders. A complete panic indeed fell upon the English, who suffered many predatory inroads in the old Border fashion within their own territory. A Scottish parliament was immediately held at Ayr for the settlement of the crown,—that question which had caused the nation so much woe. Bruce, who had so well deserved the distinction, was of course acknowledged king, to the exclusion of Baliol and the others who had served the interest of the English monarchs. The crown was then to pass to his brother Edward, though Bruce had a daughter who would have been his heir according to modern ideas. This was an arrangement agreeable to the principles on which Bruce's ancestor had claimed the throne. On his failure, Marjory the king's daughter and her family were to succeed; and ere long she was married to Walter, the Steward of Scotland, by whom the Stuart dynasty was founded.


EFFECT OF THE WAR.—The history of Scotland for some years after this, is that of a country endeavouring to recover from the blighting influence of war. The kingdom had passed through a period of poverty and depression from which it did not recover for centuries; and indeed it has been sometimes asserted that Scotland never entirely ceased to suffer in some way or other from the hostility of England, until after the insurrection of 1745. We may still observe the traces of this depression; for while the churches and castles of early date could vie with those of England, the sordid edifices, erected for a long time after the War of Independence, remain as a testimony of the poverty of the country.

A remarkable change came over its social condition. Of the Norman knights, who possessed nearly all its dignities and great chieftainships, only a few stood by Bruce; and these few,

such as the Stewarts, the Ramesays or Ramsays, the Friselles or Frasers, the De Hays, and others, became naturalized Scotsmen, their descendants acquiring the national spirit and habits. The majority, however, who naturally adhered to their Norman leader the King of England, were driven from the country, so that the French high-sounding names almost entirely disappear from its history. These knights were at the same time deprived of their lands,—a measure, as we shall afterwards find, productive of very serious consequences to Scotland.

KING ROBERT, while he made enemies without his dominions by these extensive forfeitures, was enabled to reward and secure valuable friends within. He entered at the same time on a firm alliance with France, founded on mutual self-preservation and enmity to England. But he knew that the foundation of his throne rested on the good will of the common people, who had borne and dared so much in the vindication of the national freedom, and he wisely resolved to increase their influence in the deliberations of the state. Hence it was, that in a parliament held in the great Abbey of Cambuskenneth, close to the field where Wallace conquered, and overlooking the yet fresh battle-ground of Bannockburn, the representatives of that rising class, the burgesses of the cities, sat as one of the Estates of the realm. The parliament liberally seconded the views of the king by voting a large subsidy to restore the wasted revenues of the crown.

2. INROAD ON IRELAND.—While these graver matters were in progress, some events occurred in connexion with Ireland, the nature of which would be incomprehensible, if we did not take into consideration the spirit of chivalry and the adventurous habits of the Norman knights, who had seen one of their number ascend the throne of England, and others conquering principalities for themselves in different parts of the world. Ireland had now, owing to the divisions among her native princes, been for some time nominally a dependency of England, though the king's authority there was occasionally of a very doubtful character, and a large portion of the country consisted of unpenetrated wilds, where the native chiefs were still supreme. It seems to have occurred to Edward Bruce, that as his brother had obtained the crown of Scotland, so he himself might win that of Ireland. In 1315, he landed at Carrickfergus with 6000 men and some adventurous knights. He gained several victories, obtained followers among the Irish, and after having swept Down, Armagh, Louth, Meath, and Kildare, was actually



crowned King of Ireland. Sorely in want, however, both of money and men, to control so wide a territory, he sent for assistance to King Robert, who having an interval of tranquillity passed over to Ireland. His poetical biographer, Barbour, begins his account of the king's expedition in this pleasant manner, as if it were a romantic adventure rather than a serious attempt at conquest.

This was in the month of May  
When birds sing on ilk spray,  
Mixing their notes with seemly soun  
For softness in the sweet seasoun;  
And leaves of the branches spreads,  
And blooms bright beside them breads,  
And trees are strew'd with flowers,  
Well savouring of ser\* colours,  
And all things worth† bright and gay,  
When that the good king took his way.

3. RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES.—King Robert, however, wisely abandoned this useless effort, having more serious business on his hand at home. Though the forces of the invader had been driven out, there was as yet no acknowledgment of the independence of Scotland. The court of Rome took a hostile position, treating Bruce as an excommunicated person for the murder of Comyn, and efforts were made by England to secure a continuance of this hostility. The pope, for the convenience of the latter country, desired to enjoin a truce between the two kingdoms. The bull, however, was not directed to Robert as king of Scotland, nor would the Roman legate who came with the injunction acknowledge him as such and pay the proper ceremonial courtesies as to a monarch. Hence the king refused to receive and entertain the injunction, and an amusing contest was carried on, in which Bruce, backed by his nobles and people, had infinitely the better of the envoy. But, in the meantime, though the English did not attempt any great invasion, they renewed hostilities. It was one of their chief objects to possess Berwick and its fine fortifications, and it was besieged by the king in person in 1319. The defence was superintended by a person named Crab, a very clever engineer according to the science of that day, who by hurling huge stones from the ramparts, destroyed the battering engines which were from time to time brought up against the walls. One of these machines, apparently a roofed building mounted on wheels, and containing a considerable body of

\* Several.

† Becomes.

men, was named "the sow." When one of the huge stones discharged by Crab broke through the roof, the armed men within scampered off, upon which the Scots would jeeringly cry out, that the English sow had farrowed.

Edward II. was compelled at that time to abandon the attempt to recover Berwick. Three years afterwards, however, in 1322, Scotland was once more invaded by a large army. Bruce sagaciously avoided risking his crown and the country's independence on another great victory, and followed Wallace's policy of letting the English army wander through a lonely country without an enemy and without food. Tired and disgusted, they returned, leaving, however, direful marks of their progress in the destruction of the famed abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh. Encouraged by the feebleness with which all attacks on them were now made, the Scots in 1327 resolved on a serious retaliation, and 10,000 men marched under Douglas and Randolph into England. Their troops were hardy warriors, well accustomed to rapid marches over all kinds of ground and in every variety of weather, ready at a moment's warning to fight or to retreat as might be necessary. In defiance of an army, said to have been sixty thousand strong, sent against them, they passed Newcastle, and carried their ravages southward of the Tyne. On the banks of that river the English troops awaited their return; but, avoiding that overwhelming force, they struck across the country, and encamped themselves on a strong rising ground washed by the river Wear. Hitherto, their progress could only be distantly traced by the smoke of burning houses, and the track of ruin left behind them; now, however, they courted the attention of the hostile army. Their position was quite impregnable, and when it had been in vain attempted on all sides, the English commander by his heralds desired them to come forth and try the issue of a battle on fair ground. Justly deeming such a request by a far superior force somewhat unreasonable, they returned the vaunting answer, that where they now were they intended to abide so long as it pleased them, and if the English were dissatisfied with what they had done, they might come and chastise them. So matters stood for some days; the English chafed with disappointment, and suffering from cold, wet, and hunger, while the Scots feasted more liberally than usual on their captured cattle. At length, one morning, though on the previous night the camp-fires had blazed as usual, and the place mani-

fested the ordinary bustle, the Scottish army had vanished, no one could tell whither.

4. FINAL SETTLEMENT.—It now seemed more important to the safety of England than even to that of Scotland, that the devastating war should come to an end. Accordingly the king and his advisers at last resolved to acknowledge the independence of Scotland. Having obtained the consent of his parliament, Edward II. made a resignation of all claims of superiority over Scotland, and a full acknowledgment of the regal supremacy of that country. This important State Paper was executed at Northampton, on the 17th of March 1328. It was followed by a treaty of alliance on terms of equality, in which it was arranged that the Princess Joanna, sister of King Edward, should be married to Prince David, the son of King Robert Bruce. It may be said to be from this date that the history of Scotland commences as a separate kingdom divided by distinct boundaries from England.


DEATH OF BRUCE.—The heroic king lived little more than a year after the conclusion of this satisfactory settlement. Though Froissart the chronicler says that he was "right sore, aged, and feeble," yet his age in reality was not such as to unfit him for active personal exertion, for when he died on the 7th of June 1329, he was no more than fifty-five years old. Hardships and severe anxiety had, however, given him the constitution of a man advanced in years. His death was received with deep sorrow throughout the land, and was followed by one of the most romantic incidents in the history of chivalry. He left an injunction that his heart should be conveyed by his devoted friend Douglas to the Holy Land, since he had not been spared to go himself, in pursuance of a vow made by him. Douglas, in honour of the important duty committed to him, travelled with the magnificence of a sovereign. Finding that Alphonso of Castile was then engaged in a war with the Saracens of Grenada, he deemed the contest with the infidel precisely such a one as Bruce himself would have taken up, and hence he joined in it with his precious charge. Hard beset by the Saracens, he is said to have thrown the casket before him, crying, "Onward, as thou wert wont, thou noble heart,—Douglas shall follow thee!" Douglas was slain, and the heart of the Bruce, brought back to Scotland, was reverently enshrined in the beautiful abbey of Melrose, rebuilt after its destruction by the English. His body was buried near the high altar of the church at Dun-



fermine, the remains of which, in the early Norman style, show that it was then a grand edifice. So recently as the year 1818, a burial-vault was there discovered, in which lay the skeleton of a tall, strongly-made man, enclosed in a coffin or covering of lead; and those who had an opportunity of seeing it before it was solemnly reinterred, believed that they were looking upon the remains of King Robert Bruce.

5. DAVID, the son and successor of Robert, was but six years old at his accession. The death of the weak monarch Edward II. was nearly contemporary with that of Bruce. He was succeeded by his son Edward III., who inherited the talents, courage, and ambition of his grandfather; and thus, while a child succeeded a renowned warrior in the government of Scotland, an imbecile monarch made way for a more vigorous ruler on the throne of England. This change naturally occasioned serious uneasiness in Scotland. The affairs of the country were, however, placed in good hands, for Randolph, Earl of Moray, being appointed to act as regent, he signalized his administration by the indefatigable strictness with which he enforced the law, to the suppression of crime and turbulence. Many anecdotes are preserved of his acuteness, and among these, it was said that he hanged a husbandman for stealing his own plough. Plans for making the neighbourhood pay when any one lost his property by theft, were favourites both in England and Scotland, as they were supposed to create mutual vigilance and co-operation for the enforcement of the law. Randolph carried out this principle in thefts, making the neighbours responsible. In the instance alluded to, the husbandman had hidden his plough, and claimed its value as if it had been stolen, and this being discovered, he was punished as if he had been himself the thief.

6. EDWARD III. AND RENEWED HOSTILITIES.—Had any one survived who had been trained up in the severe school of Bruce, as Randolph was, Scotland might have been spared many of the humiliations and miseries which she suffered. He died, however, in the year 1332, and Donald, earl of Mar, another nephew of King Robert, but of sadly inferior ability, was chosen to succeed him. The opportunity had now come for Edward III. to regain Scotland. The shame of violating a direct treaty probably restrained him, but there were circumstances which seemed to prepare the way for him without his intervention. Edward, the representative of the family of Baliol, was still alive in England, and nothing was more



natural than that he should bring around him those Norman barons who had lost their possessions in Scotland when the country recovered her independence. They were nominally the subjects of the English king, and he was at peace with Scotland; but it was not likely that he would very rigidly watch the motions of these adventurous men, and prevent them from carrying on a project in every way calculated to promote his interests and wishes. Scotland should have looked to herself; but she was at the time in the hands of incompetent leaders. Accordingly, Baliol landed on the coast of Fife with a force intended, as it was said, to regain for him the throne of his ancestors. Mar had just been appointed guardian, and his mismanagement permitted the expedition to disembark unresisted. It was still the misfortune of Scotland that many of her nobility, from their foreign extraction, were persons of doubtful allegiance to the interests of their country. Though there was a large army under the regent, some of those who could have given him the best advice were secretly in favour of the invader, and even Mar himself was charged with treachery. Hence the small force under Baliol was allowed to march without interruption through Dunfermline to the banks of the Earn. When he reached Dupplin, he attacked the Scottish army by surprise, and though he had not above 2000 men, and the force he assailed is said to have amounted to 30,000, it dispersed in a state of panic, not without considerable slaughter; so fatal is it to any army, however brave, to have treacherous leaders.

7. BALIOL now passed on to Perth, and was crowned at Scone, the Earl of Fife performing the ceremony according to the privilege of his house. The crown was as suddenly lost as it had been gained. About three months after his coronation, when he was sojourning in apparent security in the town of Annan, near the western border, a son of Randolph, along with Archibald Douglas and a few other adventurous leaders, suddenly crossed the mountains from Moffatdale, and fell on the new king and his party so furiously, that all who could escape fled into England. Baliol was among the earliest of the fugitives, but he left behind him a brother, slain in the encounter. In the meantime, David had for safety from his enemies been sent to France. When his rival was driven out of the kingdom, it might have been supposed that the young monarch's throne would have been firm: there was, however, a far more potent spirit interested in this affair than

the adventurer Baliol, who had acknowledged Edward III. as his feudal lord. Had not this been done, Edward would have maintained that by the treaty of Northampton he was bound to interpose and preserve the descendant of Bruce on the throne; but he could now assert a right to interfere on the ground of his feudal superiority, and there was the further justification, that in the conflicts caused by the struggle for the throne, the English borders had been invaded. Like the wolf in the fable, who insisted that the lamb, which was drinking farther down the stream, tainted his water, the ambitious King of England, wishing to add Scotland to his dominions, resolved to fasten a quarrel on that country. Edward accordingly marched an army to the Border, taking with him Baliol, as if to show that he was not acting under the impulse of his own ambition, but desirous of doing justice to an unfortunate prince. A primary object was the capture of Berwick, which was at that time one of the most important towns in Britain from its vast foreign trade. At the present day it is surrounded by fortifications, which render it more like a continental than a British town; but these are of much later date than the works by which it was strengthened in the time of Edward III.

EDWARD brought with him a strong force, and was determined at all hazards to take the town and its castle, when the governor agreed to an arrangement like that made by the English before the battle of Bannockburn, namely, to yield if not relieved by a Scottish army. Some important persons were given up as hostages or sureties for the performance of the engagement, and among them was the governor's son. The Scottish army approached, and a portion of it was enabled to join the besieged; and then a question arose whether the garrison was bound to yield or not. Edward settled the dispute, so far as he was concerned, by hanging the governor's son, — a cruel and unknighly act, which went with many others to show how little control chivalry exercised over the passions of powerful sovereigns when they were excited by opposition or self-interest.

8. CONTINUATION OF THE WAR.—The troops that had been sent to the relief of Berwick had a sadly incapable general in the Earl of March. He rashly gave battle to Edward's army  
 9th March } where he found it, thus reversing the condition of  
 1333. } his countrymen at Bannockburn, since he attacked  
 a force strongly posted on ground memorable as Halidon Hill.

The Scots were defeated with great slaughter, and a large number of those whose rank made them the feudal leaders of their people were slain. Berwick yielded, and Baliol, who accompanied the English army, was restored to a throne from which he had been so lately driven, but which now seemed to be placed on a more solid foundation. It appeared indeed that his dynasty was permanently restored, and that Scotland was to become under him a mere feudal fief of England. His party was predominant in Berwickshire and some other of the southern counties, and Englishmen were installed in offices, as they had been during the conquest of Edward I. This security of possession was however more nominal than real. A dispute about the succession to the estates of one of the Norman barons who still held lands in Scotland, divided Baliol's supporters, and enfeebled his tenure of power.

Among the ablest of the Scottish champions in that doubtful and disastrous period were the Steward of Scotland and the youthful Earl of Moray, who were chosen joint-regents of the kingdom, with as much formality as the distracted condition of the nation would permit. A curious desultory war with only partial results is the chief feature of this period. The whole country was miserable and destitute of life and energy, and the northern portions were in a state of wild independence. In the south it was hard to say whether the supremacy was with Baliol and the English king, or with the Scottish regents. In one thing the Scottish leaders were rendered prudent from sad experience,—in avoiding any great battle. When large bodies of troops advanced from England, they found an empty barren country, and no opportunity of gaining renown. But if they persisted in traversing it, they learnt that although food and shelter were wanting, it was not so entirely destitute of enemies; and parties of the Scots, acquainted with the ground and accustomed to hardships, would rush impetuously from the forests or mountain-ranges on their outposts or stragglers, and render the position of the invaders extremely perilous. It was altogether a war in which the people of Scotland, without any eminent leader, effectually resisted the great armies of the English king. The conflict was marked by many signal acts of individual heroism, among which was the defence of Dunbar Castle, conducted, in the absence of Lord March, by his wife, a daughter of the warrior Randolph, who inherited more than a feminine proportion of her father's hardihood. While the Earl of Salisbury besieged the castle with

a large force, the garrison was excited to increased vigilance and exertion by seeing a woman so energetic; and, on the other hand, the English troops felt humiliated at being so baffled by the "she captain," who, whether from her complexion or her formidable warlike operations, received the title of "Black Agnes of Dunbar." Some rhymes were made expressive of the impatient feelings of the besiegers, which may be thus modernized :

In tower and trench she kept a strife,  
This brawling, blustering, Scottish wife;  
Came I early, came I late,  
There was Agnes at the gate.

It fortunately happened, that however much Edward III. was provoked by the impracticability of making any impression on Scotland, he had set his heart on a more brilliant conquest. In the autumn of 1337, he began the campaign in France which rendered his name illustrious, and Scotland gradually shook off the remnant of the invading troops.

9. RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY.—After a nine years' exile in France, David returned to his dominions in 1341, at the age of eighteen. He was the first monarch to introduce French tastes and habits at the Scottish court. He had been accustomed to a luxury and state in comparison with which the establishment of a Scottish sovereign appeared barbarous and sordid; and he showed a discontented, imperious, and headstrong spirit, little calculated to secure the attachment of his people at a time of depression and misery.

At that period the most daring champion in Scotland was Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale,—an illegitimate son of the good Sir James. Though called the Rose of Chivalry for his knightly demeanour, he did not hesitate to murder his rival, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, by starving him to death in the lonely castle of Hermitage. Ramsay, a gallant knight, and his rival in arms, had excited his envy and hatred by being made governor of Roxburgh Castle and Sheriff of Teviotdale,—offices which Douglas himself desired. This is another instance how little control chivalry exercised on the conduct when the avaricious or vindictive passions were roused. Douglas was an illustration of the doctrine that violence begets violence; for he was himself murdered by his own kinsman, the Earl of Douglas, who charged the knight of Liddesdale with usurping his rights as head of the family.

In the meanwhile Liddesdale had engaged in intrigues for

the purpose of betraying the independence of Scotland; and at the same time, made fierce incursions on the English Border, with a view to conceal his treachery. One of these inroads was commanded by King David himself. After having swept the north of England, plundering, burning, and slaying, the invaders encountered an English force at Neville's Cross, near Durham. The Scots, ill commanded, fought recklessly and in disorder, and were thrown into utter confusion by the steady charge of the English. Among other captives David himself was taken. This occurred on the 17th of October 1346, and eleven years passed ere he was released. The English troops were commanded at the battle of Neville's Cross by the heroic Queen Philippa, while her husband was absent on the Continent. It was indeed an hour of triumph for England, when David met at the court of London King John the captive monarch of France.

The humiliations and miseries of Scotland at this time reached their climax. The country was again suffering under the selfish schemes of ambitious princes. The representative of the house of Baliol was willing to resign the national independence to become a feudatory of England, if he might be allowed to rule over Scotland. But it is to the shame of the son of the heroic Robert Bruce, that he too permitted the selfish desire for release to overcome his duty,—that he agreed to pay homage for his paternal dominions. It was Edward's notion, that as a preliminary to the annexation of France to his crown, he should rid himself of an enemy nearer home by completely subduing Scotland. Accordingly, in 1356, he passed northwards with a great army to complete the reduction of the country without delay. He took the servile Baliol with him, and trusted much to the influence of David's captivity and submission. But he had calculated without the most material element of all,—the submission of the Scottish people, whose sense of independence and of enmity to England had been yearly strengthening. He spread ruin and devastation around him, destroying the fine ecclesiastical buildings as far as Edinburgh. But the ruin told at last on his own army; for the Scots, worthily led by the Steward, followed the counsel of Bruce, and, without hazarding a battle, let the English host starve in the wilderness it had created, while they harassed all stragglers and small parties with ceaseless attacks. At length the English army retreated after a fiery devastation, long known by the name of the *Burnt Candlemas*. Finding that Scotland

could not be thus hastily subdued, Edward, that his hands might be freed for the French war, consented to an alliance and the release of the king. But his restoration was burdened with an enormous ransom, the levying of which pressed heavily on the nation.

Edward did not act as a severe creditor, so far as the payments were concerned; for he had deeper designs, and, like the lender of money to a needy spendthrift, he rather wished to establish an influence over Scotland than to be repaid. David made frequent visits to the court of England. He was distrusted by his subjects, and did not deserve their confidence, since he assented to a proposal to invest the succession in the English Duke of Clarence. The concluding years of his reign were inglorious, and he died on the 22d of February 1371.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Give an account of the settlement of the crown. What was the origin of the House of Stuart? Describe the change which occurred among the holders of domains in Scotland? What occurred at Cambuskenneth?

2. What was the nature of the project entertained by Edward Bruce? How was it carried out?

3. What impediments were there to the final establishment of independence? Describe the siege of Berwick. What policy was adopted against the English invading army? Give an account of the invasion by Douglas and Randolph.

4. In what manner was the independence of Scotland acknowledged? What treaty followed? When did Bruce die? What occurred after his death? Mention a late antiquarian discovery about him.

5. How were the succession to the crown of England and that to the crown of Scotland contrasted? How did it occur that there was a body of men anxious to invade Scotland? What occurred near Dupplin?

7. What was the conclusion of Baliol's attempt? Why was Edward III. induced to take up his cause? What was the result? What fortification was besieged?

8. Give an account of the battle of Halidon Hill. How far was Baliol master of Scotland? How did the Scottish people carry on the war? Give an account of Black Agnes of Dunbar and her achievements. How were the efforts of Edward drawn away from Scotland?

9. What sort of monarch was David I.? Give some instances which show the moral defects of the system of chivalry. What occurred at Neville's Cross? What was the result of a new English invasion? How was King David released?

## CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART TO THE  
RESTORATION OF JAMES I., A. D. 1370—1424.

Robert Stuart—French Auxiliaries—Border Wars—Internal Feuds—The Reign of Robert III.—Highland Conflicts—The Duke of Albany—The Rothessay Tragedy—Homildon Hill—Seizure of James I.—Donald of the Isles and the Battle of Harlaw—Projects of Albany—Richard II.—Regency of Murdoch—The Scots in France—Restoration of James I.

1. ROBERT STUART now ascended the throne in virtue of the arrangement for the succession ratified by Parliament. He was fifty-five years old, and, suffering from a painful disease which deformed his countenance, he was partial to quiet councils and the preservation of peace with England. In the earlier part of his reign courtesies were exchanged with the English, and John of Gaunt, the great Duke of Lancaster, received a cordial reception and an asylum in Scotland during the insurrection of Wat Tyler and other troubles in England. The two nations began after their long contest to look on each other with a friendly eye.

FRENCH AUXILIARIES.—This restoration of amity appears to have been viewed with suspicion by the government of France, which found some advantage in keeping a martial community like the Scots at perpetual enmity with England. The French offered, if hostilities against England were resumed, to furnish Scotland with a considerable sum of money, along with a body of trained men, and this offer proved too tempting to be resisted. In the year 1385, a noble Frenchman, John de Vienne, was sent over with a thousand men-at-arms and armour for 1200 Scotsmen. In the continental wars, these soldiers were so superior to other troops that a small number of them was equal to an army. Each knight was completely cased in mail, and the strong horse which he rode was almost as effectively protected. A body of them might therefore be compared to so many moving fortresses. They met each other, of course, on equal terms; but against the herd of poor half-clad and miserably armed vassals, they were like wild beasts among sheep. Few of the ordinary weapons could penetrate their steel casing, and instances have been known where, even after they were overthrown, the peasantry found it very difficult to despatch them.



Among the hardy Scots, however, who had a different method of fighting, the men-at-arms were not so overwhelming a force, and the gorgeous cavalcade of French knights was not held so important an acquisition as they deemed themselves. Notwithstanding their friendly alliance, it is difficult to conceive how great at that time was the social distinction between the two countries. The people of Scotland could at the present day maintain, and with justice, that, taking all classes, and the rural districts as well as the towns, they are superior to the people of France in education, wealth, enterprise, and every thing that constitutes civilisation. But, in the fourteenth century, there is no doubt that France looked on the ferocious Scots much in the same light as the British contemplate the Sikhs or the Afghans in their Indian wars.

While they were poor and rude, the Scots were supremely proud, and could ill bear the fastidious airs and haughty contempt of their more polished allies, whose very magnificence and luxury seemed in themselves to affront the homely poverty of Scotland. Though they brought with them a handsome subsidy, it was maintained that the strangers in the extravagance of their habits were consuming the very vitals of the country. Hence they were viewed with jealousy and discontent; nor was the character of the war such as enabled them to perform any brilliant knightly deeds. Following the advice of their great King Robert, the Scots fought chiefly on foot. Unable to cope with the large armies of England, they confined themselves principally to surprises and rapid forays, retreating when they had accomplished their object or found that it could not be achieved. When the English armies crossed the border, they found nothing but desolate moors, everything of value having been removed; while, on the other hand, when the Scots ravaged the fruitful fields of England, they carried off a rich booty.

2. BORDER WARS.—The great English and Scottish families near the border naturally looked on each other with deadly enmity, as the leaders under whom these forays were carried out. The Percys of Northumberland were the most powerful and illustrious on the English side, and the Douglasses in Scotland were acquiring an influence which afterwards shook the throne. In one of these incursions, James of Douglas had exasperated the Percys by one of those vaunting defiance by which the knights of that day were in the habit

of provoking each other. It was rendered the more aggravating that Douglas and his band remained within the territory of the Percys, as if defying them to do their worst. They attacked his camp at a place called Otterburn, and a battle was fought renowned for its fierceness, though the armies engaged on both sides were small. Many men of high distinction, including Douglas himself, were slain; but the victory declared for the Scots, and the two Percys were taken prisoners. The popular ballad of Chevy Chase is supposed to have been founded on this encounter.

Before the death of King Robert in 1390, a truce had been agreed to, in which France was included. But already the system of warfare had produced a disorganizing social influence, especially in the border districts. The booty carried off from England in the marauding expeditions tempted men to continue the practice, and the southern aristocracy and landowners of Scotland became little else than captains of banditti. Living in the great ranges of hills on the confines of the two countries, they reared but a scanty produce of their own, and became accustomed to look for their chief supplies to the corn-fields and pastures of England.

**INTERNAL FEUDS.**—The Scottish marauders did not always limit their exactions to the English. Having once assumed the predatory habit, they could not restrain it, if a convenient opportunity occurred for its exercise, even against their own countrymen. Quarrels and animosities were thus propagated, and families acquired lasting traditional hatreds against each other. These were called feuds, from the faith or fidelity which the followers were expected to give to the chief in conducting the conflict. These feuds often lasted from generation to generation, causing at intervals the most deadly crimes. Thus, when one leader had slain the son or brother of another, there was a determination on the injured side to take the earliest opportunity of revenge. The retaliation would of course be a new offence, calling for retribution from the other party, and so the accounts went on and were never settled.

Each baron or laird possessed a castle of his own, like the margraves and dukes of the German empire. It was in the reigns of Robert the Second and Third that the towers or castles distributed throughout Scotland were chiefly built. Unlike the great castellated edifices which the wealth of the English nobility had enabled them to construct, they were

rough and unadorned, but generally very strong. From the large space occupied by thick walls, a considerable tower often contained only three moderate-sized rooms, one above another. These rude square buildings, called sometimes *peels* or *bastle-houses*, were of course particularly numerous on the border, where the remains of many of them may still be seen at the openings of the glens. Sometimes the owners, growing more affluent, added to them ornamental buildings in the French style, so that the old square tower became the centre, as it were, of a cluster of edifices reared in different ages. But the principle of defence was long preserved in the houses of the Scottish gentry after it had ceased to be a feature of domestic architecture in England.

3. THE REIGN OF ROBERT III., who succeeded his father, presented new sources of disturbance in the power and turbulence of the highlanders and the inhabitants of the Western Isles. Ambitious adventurers, seeing their readiness for outrage, offered themselves as leaders of these tribes, and led them in expeditions against the lowlands, or against hostile clans. The king's natural brother, the Earl of Buchan, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, collected a body of these wild mountaineers, and descending with them into the rich plain of Moray, burned the cathedral of Elgin, and spread ruin far and wide. The descendants of the Norwegian lords of the isles professed a sovereignty over the whole of these tribes; and, as we shall presently see, appeared at one time likely to set up a rival throne to that of the King of Scots.

HIGHLAND CONFLICTS.—There was, however, a fertile source of disunion in the enmity of the different tribes against each other. It became the policy of the Scottish kings, from an early date, to foster rather than suppress this propensity, one clan being not unfrequently encouraged to attack another, and receiving the royal authority to entitle it to act as it were in vindication of the law. In a civilized country this would be deemed a gross perversion of the proper duties of a strong government, whose object should be to preserve peace and justice, not to encourage war and rapine. The excuse made for that of Scotland in these difficult times is, that it was not strong enough to do strict justice, and therefore was compelled to rule by policy.

The results of this policy show, as might be expected, that a government affords a poor inducement to order and regularity when it gives direct encouragement to turbulence and rapine.

One of the most barbarous scenes which has taken place in Europe since the combats of the gladiators in the Roman circus, occurred, as an event in these highland conflicts, on the fine meadow known as the North Inch of Perth, in the year 1396. It appears that the highland clans were then divided into two great factions, which are spoken of in the old chronicles as that of the clan Quhile and of the clan Chattan. Thirty combatants were chosen on each side, who were to fight in the presence of the sovereign until the one had completely vanquished the other.

When two armies meet in conflict, that which finds itself the weaker may retreat or flee. On such an occasion as this, however, when the combatants were singled out in equal numbers, and were surrounded by the followers of the court, there was no resource but to fight until one of the parties should be fairly conquered, and this would only be after several had been killed on the winning side, and all, or nearly all, on the losing. It is said that one of the thirty men of the clan Chattan was missing, and that, in fairness to the other side, it would have been necessary to abandon the barbarous contest, had it not been that a mechanic of Perth offered for a reasonable reward, which he stipulated at half a French crown, to take the place of the missing highlander. He was known by the name of the Gow Chrom, or the bandy-legged blacksmith. He was a man of great ferocity, courage, and strength, and if the legends about him be true, it appears that the victory gained by the clan Chattan, who killed all of the clan Quhile, except one man who escaped by swimming the Tay, was due to the prowess of the bandy-legged smith, sometimes called "Harry of the Wynd," from the street in Perth where he lived. Among the traditions regarding him, it is said that he did not know and did not care for whom he fought; and hence comes an old saying of the people of Perth, "Every man for his own hand, like Harry of the Wynd."

This tragic event has formed a main incident in Sir Walter Scott's romance called the Fair Maid of Perth, and it is unfortunate that it is better fitted for fiction than history, since it is extremely difficult to separate the truth of the transaction from the fabulous traditions connected with it. In that tale another tragedy in the reign of Robert III. has been narrated, of which an account must now be given. It is more horrible even than the conflict of the North Inch, and not so easily accounted for; and the best that can be said of

it is, that it proves, if it be true, the lawlessness of the age, and how difficult it is, in the midst of civilisation, to understand the motives which influence people in such actions.

4. THE DUKE OF ALBANY, the brother of the king, had some ambitious projects of his own, which he was resolved to carry out, whatever crimes or dangers might be necessary for their accomplishment. The king's eldest son, and the heir to the throne, David duke of Rothesay, is said to have been a young man of brilliant genius, but of restless habits, and with an inveterate propensity for dissipation and wild revelry. Yet he was worthy of some reliance as a military commander. Henry IV., on his accession to the throne of England, or his usurpation, as it was termed, wished to give lustre to his reign by the conquest of Scotland; and as an excuse for the attempt, he renewed the old pretence of a feudal superiority in the crown of England over that realm. He advanced as far as Edinburgh, where the castle was effectually defended against him by the young Duke of Rothesay, who had borne so evil a reputation. As the insurrection of Owen Glendower was breaking out in his own dominions, the English monarch had to retreat from Scotland, after having accomplished but little to balance against his arrogant pretensions.

THE ROTHESAY TRAGEDY.—Just before this event, which occurred in the year 1400, there had been high disputes about the marriage of the prince with a lady of one of the great aristocratic houses; and as the alliance would at once advance the family which might secure it, there was much jealousy among those who had influence enough to put in a claim. It is said that Albany offered to arrange the matter, so that the house which paid him the highest bribe should be preferred. The Earl of March was selected; and it is even said that he had paid a considerable portion of the promised money, when the still more powerful head of the house of Douglas interposed and superseded him.

It is certain that the prince was married to a daughter of the house of Douglas; but it is the most unaccountable part of the tragic history of the Duke of Rothesay, that not only his uncle Albany, but his father-in-law Douglas, and his own father the king, are said all to have united against him. Whether this be true or not, they all agreed to his cruel fate. He was imprisoned in a dungeon in Falkland Palace, and there starved to death. In the romantic histories of the time, it is stated that the daughter of the keeper of the prison and another young

woman, as they were amusing themselves in the garden, heard the moans of the starving man through a little orifice in the wall, and endeavoured to prolong his life by carrying food to him.

5. HOMILDON HILL.—The Earl of March, whose allegiance seems to have rested as lightly on him as those of the Norman knights in the war of independence, went over with his followers to Henry the Fourth. Along with the impetuous Percy, known as Hotspur, he resisted Douglas and a royal army in an inroad into Cumberland, and at Homildon Hill, near Wooler, the English army, with the forces of March as its allies, gained a decided victory. Soon afterwards, the Percys took advantage of appearances, and embodied troops for their English insurrection, under the profession of conducting the war in Scotland. Their old hereditary enemy, Douglas, their ally, was taken prisoner after performing some signal achievements in the battle of Shrewsbury.

SEIZURE OF JAMES I.—King Robert, before his death, which occurred in the spring of 1406, formed a plan for sending his son and successor, James, to receive his education in France. It is probable that the fate of the poor Duke of Rothesay may have suggested to him that it would be well to keep his other son at a distance from so dangerous a neighbour as Albany. The young prince, however, only avoided one peril to encounter another, though of a less formidable kind. An English corsair, or privateer, seized the vessel in which he was embarked, and brought the valuable prize to England, where it was duly esteemed by King Henry. He was deaf to all appeals about honour and chivalrous courtesy; and in answer to them, said jocularly, that indeed the boy should have been sent to him to be taught French, for he was very expert in that language.

Albany, the ambitious brother of King Robert, probably felt that such an occurrence favoured his projects. He evidently had some designs on the throne himself; and this would not be, in such an age, quite so absurd as it might appear now, for the regular principle of hereditary succession had not been long in force. We have seen that it was not fully understood in the contest between Bruce and Baliol, so that there would have been little to shock people's feelings in the king's brother succeeding instead of his son. Albany was appointed regent of the kingdom, and as he was generally careful in his official transactions to avoid all mention of the

young prince, who was a prisoner at the court of the national enemy, it seems pretty clear that he intended to usurp the throne.

6. DONALD OF THE ISLES AND THE BATTLE OF HARLAW.—Within three years after he had assumed the regency, there occurred one of the most important events in Scottish history; though it is unfortunate that our acquaintance with its particulars, at this distant period, is very imperfect. The representative of the Norman settlers on the western coast, called Donald of the Isles, was determined to strike a bold stroke for an independent highland kingdom. Circumstances favoured his views, since the earldom of Ross, in the far north, was claimed by him, as the husband of one of the earl's daughters. Some historians have written about this revolt, as if he had merely desired to obtain an earldom in Scotland, and had rebelled because his pretensions were opposed. But his conduct in reality involved a much more important matter. In fact it may be a question whether it should properly be called rebellion, for this term is generally applied to those who rise up to disturb a settled government; while it is evident that Donald considered that he had as fair a title to be king of the highlands and islands, as the descendants of Robert Bruce had to the sovereignty of the lowlands. Founding a quarrel on the question as to the earldom of Ross, he resolved to appeal to arms for the establishment of his claims. It was to be a contest for supremacy between the Norman leaders of the Celtic races on the one hand, and the Scottish authority established in Edinburgh on the other.

Donald marched with a large army through Ross and Inverness shires, into the low country of Aberdeenshire. The alarm and anxiety throughout the lowlands seem to have been such as the Italians felt when the Gauls were approaching Rome. Aberdeen and the other towns, which were just growing into importance, sent forth their principal citizens; and the gentry of the neighbourhood put themselves at the head of their vassals. The lowland army was commanded by the Earl of Mar, a son of that Earl of Buchan who had led a band of highland freebooters through Moray and burned Elgin cathedral. Mar had himself been a leader of highland marauders, and perhaps was thus better fitted to encounter the army of Donald of the Isles.

7. The conflict which put a final end to the claims of the highland chief to be the ruler of Scotland took place at Har-

law, in the flat agricultural district of the Mearns, in Aberdeenshire, on the 24th of July 1411. The battle was very like some of those which have taken place in India between small bodies of disciplined European troops and large armies of the natives. The two forces were very disproportioned to each other. There were probably no means of knowing the numbers of the highland host; and the chroniclers who favoured the other side say, they were to the lowlanders as ten to one. This small body appears to have consisted chiefly of men-at-arms, such as they have been already described, either mounted on war-horses or well cased in armour, and fighting compactly with long lances, while the wild gallowglasses of the mountains, half naked and ill armed, depended on their numbers and individual exertions. The struggle was maintained with unmitigated ferocity until night. The armed lowland infantry stood firm, receiving the undisciplined masses of the mountaineers on their long lances; while sometimes the horsemen charged among them, crushing or cutting them down on both sides. But ever as they were slain, fresh multitudes pressed onwards, regardless of their lives. They got beneath the horses and cut their girths, or stabbed them; while some, with the certainty of meeting their own death, crawled into an opening among the compact bodies of spearmen, and stabbed them beneath their armour.

Thus, though several of the mountaineers had been slain for every soldier that had fallen on the other side, yet the lowlanders were so few in number that there seemed every prospect of their being exterminated. One half of them were killed when night ended the contest. It was with extreme anxiety that the survivors looked for a recommencement of the battle next day. But as the morning dawned, they found themselves surrounded only by the dead and dying. The remainder of Donald's army had crossed the shoulder of Bendochie, and dispersed among their own mountains. Donald himself escaped, but his two main supporters, the chiefs of M'Intosh and M'Lean, were among the dead, with many other leaders of clans, and a multitude of their wild followers. The victory was a very costly one. Among the list of the slain were found the heads of many of the first families in the northern lowlands, Scrimgeours, Irvines, Maules, Abernethies, Leslie, Ogilvies, and Stirlings. They were looked upon as hero-martyrs for their country; and the battle of Harlaw was treated in its day as second only to that of Bannockburn, since it delivered the lowlands from the risk



of being overrun by a wild race, alien in language and habits to the fortunate conquerors.

Donald, retreating to his island fastnesses, collected his fleet around him, but he never recovered from the fatal blow inflicted on him at Harlaw. After some fruitless efforts at resistance he was overpowered, and agreed to become the liege vassal of the Scottish crown, and to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross. From that time onwards we hear no more of the Lord of the Isles holding court as an independent sovereign, or making treaties with the King of England. His descendants, though they sometimes attempted to assert their independence, generally took rank with the other chiefs of the highlands, who were considered ordinary subjects of the crown of Scotland.

8. PROJECTS OF ALBANY.—With the exception of this event, the history of Scotland, from the death of Robert III. in 1404, to the release of James I. in 1423, is mainly occupied with the ambitious attempts of Albany to establish his family on the throne of Scotland. While Henry V. was conducting his great war with France, it was of importance to him that Scotland should be kept quiet, and he considered that fate had given him an admirable means of doing so by retaining possession of the person of the young king. The ambitious views of Albany were an excellent excuse for his detention, since it could be very easily made appear that the young monarch was safer with his English protectors than in the hands of such an uncle. On the other hand, it served Albany's purpose almost as well as Henry's that his royal nephew should be kept in England.

But the King of England had another hostage, probably of more importance to the preservation of peace with Scotland; this was Murdoch, Albany's own son, for whom the regent evidently was plotting to obtain the Scottish throne, and who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Homildon. Albany was as anxious that his son should return as that the young king should remain in England. In the year 1414, negotiations were opened for the return of both: it was so managed, however, that Murdoch was restored, but the king was still retained.

The regent soon showed that the tie which had kept him at peace with England was severed, for in the very next year he invaded the border. His expedition was so ill conducted, that it was unpopular even with his own countrymen, who called it "the foul raid."

**RICHARD II.**—Among all these wily intrigues, there was another of a still more strange and mysterious character. The fate of Richard II., the king of England, deposed in 1399, is buried in obscurity, but it is generally understood that he was the victim of assassination. Great pains were at all events taken to prove that he was dead, and his body, or what was so called, was displayed to the people. Yet Albany kept a person living in the Scottish court who professed to be this same Richard II., and who was there treated with royal etiquette and attention as a fugitive monarch.

It is said that he had at first appeared at the court of Donald of the Isles in extreme wretchedness and dejection, and that he afterwards found his way to the court at Stirling, where he was a welcome guest. A gentleman named Serle, who had been an officer of the bedchamber to Richard II., was sent on a private mission of inquiry, and on his return he stated that the mysterious guest at the court of Scotland really was the deposed king. Already had this news been the effective cause of one rebellion. It is probable that Albany knew the claimant to be an impostor; but he felt that the possession of such a person gave him the power to disturb England, and he still professed to treat the fugitive with the respect due to a prince. On the other hand, to prove that he was not King Richard, because King Richard was dead, might have led to a disagreeable inquiry into the manner of his death. It was one of those instances in which, as Shakespeare says, conscience makes cowards of those who perpetrate guilty deeds.

**9. REGENCY OF MURDOCH.**—Albany was far advanced in years while he was pursuing those aggrandizing prospects; but he was sorely disappointed in the weakness of him for whose grandeur he had ventured and endured so much. His son Murdoch, past the middle age of man, showed undoubted incapacity for command. When the father died in 1419, above eighty years old, Murdoch, holding the title of Earl of Fife, succeeded to the regency; and had he been more able, and his cousin James less energetic, he might, like Charles Martel in France, have founded a dynasty of kings.

It was deemed an ominous commencement to his regency that Scotland was then swept by one of the fatal epidemics of the Middle Ages. It was remarkable from the number of eminent men who died of it. These visitations were infinitely more destructive than any epidemics of the present day, and

instances occur where whole districts were depopulated by them. They were doubtless regarded with extreme dread and horror, but they do not appear so prominent in history as might be expected from the influence created in the present day by the visitations of cholera. The truth, however, would seem to be, that there were then so many causes of calamity and death constantly at work, that when a pestilence had swept the land and passed away, and a new generation supplied the vacancies in the population, the event was soon forgotten.

Amidst this and other causes of misery and unpopularity, Murdoch felt himself unfit for his position. His own children would not obey him. An anecdote is told of a scene in his family which drove him to the determination of procuring his cousin's return. He had a pet falcon which his spoilt son Walter often desired to have. It was refused; and one day Walter, seizing the bird in his passion, strangled it; upon which the father said, "Since you will not obey me, I will bring home one whom we must all obey."

Negotiations were at last begun for the return of King James. On the death of the conquering monarch, Henry V., the Duke of Bedford became regent of England. A new policy prevailed as to the King of Scots, who was a man of ability and penetration. The same control which could be exercised over a mere youth could not be continued against such a person without outrage and violence; and if he should escape, which in the course of events was likely, he would re-enter his kingdom as the bitter enemy of England. It was better, then, that he should be conciliated, and made a friend by generous treatment.

10. THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.—In the wars with France, brilliant as they had been, the effects of having an enemy in Scotland were severely felt. The practice, long afterwards followed by the French monarchs, had been adopted, of employing troops consisting of the hardy Scots. Under the Earl of Buchan, a band of men, from five to seven thousand, had gone over to aid the falling fortunes of France. Many of them were persons of good birth according to Scottish notions, and, though poor, they were haughty and fierce. They were not easily managed; but, on the other hand, they were extremely formidable to the enemy. Under the Earl of Buchan, the Scots had an encounter near Baugé with the Duke of Clarence, the brother of Henry V. The English advanced with the confi-

dence which they had gained by their brilliant victories ; but they received a severe defeat, and Clarence was slain. Even at the time of James's restoration, Douglas, who was in treaty to aid England with troops, changed their destination and joined Buchan in France. The adventurers received distinguished honours and emoluments. Buchan was made high constable of France, and Stewart of Darnley received the domain of Aubigny.

Their efforts were not always crowned with success ; for in the field of Verneuil they were defeated by Bedford, and their leaders, Douglas and Buchan, were slain. The French kings were, however, not unmindful of their services and sacrifices. The survivors of the field of Verneuil, with some others of their countrymen, were embodied in the Scots guards, who continued to be the body-guards of the king, and to enjoy important privileges and emoluments in France. They were in a great measure indeed the instruments by which despotism was established in that country. They had a strong spirit of fidelity ; and as they were in the employment of the monarch, they served him without consideration for the aristocracy or the people, with whom they had no common interests or sympathies. Thus the Scots guards were ever ready to fulfil the monarch's designs. Louis XI., who was distrustful of all Frenchmen, and especially of the nobility, whom he was ever plotting against for the aggrandizement of the crown, was constrained to limit his confidence to them. He lived an isolated, suspicious life, shut up in one or other of his gloomy castles, which it was death for the heedless stranger to approach ; and as he could not keep up this distrust of the rest of the world without placing implicit reliance on some persons to protect him, he had to leave himself all the more entirely in the power of those soldiers, whom he found true to their trust. An interesting narrative has been framed out of his connexion with his Scots guard, in Sir Walter Scott's novel of *Quentin Durward*.

RESTORATION OF JAMES I.—Such were the relations between Scotland and France. As they seemed daily to be drawing closer, the government of England thought it would be wise to secure the good feeling of the new monarch of Scotland towards their country rather than encounter his displeasure. He had fallen in love with an English lady, the daughter of the Earl of Somerset, whom he describes in his poem of the *King's Quair*, as he saw her in the garden from his prison

window. He was married to her with great pomp before his departure; and in the beginning of April 1424, he left England with a courtly retinue for his own kingdom.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Describe the character of the first monarch of the house of Stuart. What was the policy adopted by France towards Scotland? How were the French auxiliaries received in Scotland?

2. What was the origin of the Border wars? What habit did they create throughout the rest of the country? Give an account of the nature of the feuds which arose. What sort of buildings did the Scottish landed proprietors raise?

3. What were the new sources of disturbance in the reign of Robert III.? Describe the policy of the kings towards the highland tribes. What was its effect on the habits of the people? Give an account of what is known about the conflict on the North Inch of Perth.

4. How did the Duke of Albany stand towards the Duke of Rothesay? Mention what is known about the death of Rothesay, and its cause.

5. What sort of allegiance did the Earl of March give to the government of Scotland? What occurred at Homildon Hill? How did James I. fall into the hands of the King of England? What designs had Albany?

6. Who was Donald of the Isles? What projects does he appear to have entertained? In what manner did he carry them out? What arrangements were made to oppose him?

7. What was the nature of the great battle fought at Harlaw? Describe it. How did it end? What effect did it produce?

8. Describe the relations of the governor of Scotland and the King of England towards each other. How did the Scottish regent manage to carry his own point? Give an account of the supposed sojourn of Richard II. in Scotland.

9. Describe the character of the regent Murdoch. What calamity overtook Scotland in his regency? What new policy prevailed in England?

10. What arrangement was adopted by the French monarchs in the wars with England? Who commanded the first Scottish auxiliaries in France? Give an account of the formation of the Scots guard. Under what circumstances was James I. restored?

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## CHAPTER VII.

### JAMES I. AND II.—SCOTLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, A.D. 1424—1460.

The Restoration of King James—Feudalism in England and Scotland—Beneficence and Forfeitures—Legislation of James I.—Corporations and Parliamentary Representation—Ecclesiastical Order—The Parliament—State of the common People—Education—Literature—Murder of James I.—James II.—The Rise of the Douglasses—Fall of the Douglasses—Death of James II.

1. THE RESTORATION OF KING JAMES is an important epoch in Scottish history. Ever since the war of independence with

England, there had been a feeling of alienation from that country. The Scottish institutions, though originally resembling the English, had taken a separate direction, and were rather influenced from France than from the southern division of the island. But from this time there is found a disposition in Scotland to imitate in some measure the institutions of England, and to rival them in excellence, without, however, any loss of nationality.

FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—The king had observed that the government of England was strong and orderly. He saw that this arose in a great measure from the power of the crown being superior to that of the nobility, and suppressing feudal anarchy and strife, and he reconciled the increase of his own power with the general improvement of the condition of the people. The feudal system had been in practice since the conquest, or even earlier, in both countries, but in Scotland it was more deep-rooted than in England. This system is supposed to have had its origin in the overthrow of the Roman empire by the barbarians. Land, it was said, constituted the property which the conquerors had acquired, and the means by which the victorious king or chief rewarded his followers. But he did not wish to abandon all control over it. Hence the property obtained by the follower was held by a limited or partial title. He possessed it under certain conditions, such as, that he should serve his chief or lord in war, perform certain duties, and pay certain taxes. If he failed in these obligations, the vassal forfeited his right, called a fee or fief, to his lord or superior, who took care at the same time to preserve a veto on the succession or alienation of the land, so that the vassal could not dispose of it as his absolute property.

A law, which was adopted in England so early as the year 1290, shows that the feudal system received an early check in its career in that part of the island, while it continued to make progress in Scotland. The English act prohibited sub-infeudations; that is to say, rendered it incompetent for one who was a vassal himself to make a vassal under him. The person so situated could thenceforth transfer his own right to the land as a vassal to another person, but he could not make himself that person's superior.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the practice of sub-infeudation, as it was called, went on. There thus arose many different grades of vassals throughout the country, greatly strengthen-

ing the aristocracy, who were nominally the vassals of the crown. For instance, the head of the powerful house of Douglas was in name a vassal of the crown, but he was in reality a kind of prince. He had vassals immediately under him, who were nobles or knights, doing homage to him for considerable districts of country held by them. Each of these again had vassals under himself of the small proprietor or yeoman class, and so the system created compact bodies closely knit together, from the highest of the nobility to the lowest serf. It was the great object of King James to weaken the power which this system conferred on the aristocracy.

2. BANISHMENTS AND FORFEITURES.—This first exercise of power was as energetic as it was rapid and unexpected. He arrested not only Murdoch, the duke of Albany, but twenty-six of the principal barons of the realm, who were supposed to be participators in the schemes of the house of Albany. The seizure was instantaneous, and before those formidable persons had time to offer resistance. Though he had erected for his defence the strong castle of Doune, whose massive though ruined towers may still be seen overtopping the trees on the banks of the Teith, Murdoch himself was taken without any difficulty. There were also apprehended the two Douglasses, the Earl of March, Erroll the constable of Scotland, Hepburn of Hailes, Hay of Yester, Ramsay of Dalhousie, and others whose names are known as those of the most powerful barons in Scotland. All the family of Albany appear to have suffered death, save his youngest son James, who escaped, and, after acting the part of a desperate highland marauder, fled to Ireland. The others, after being made effectually to feel the royal power, were released.

A measure not less prompt was adopted towards the highland chiefs. The king went to Inverness, where he stayed for some time, and held a feudal court, at which he required their presence, and they attended as if it were at a parliament or great council. Suddenly they were seized and committed to prison as persons guilty of offences. From the fierce wars waged between the clans, and the depredations committed on the lowlands, they were probably men who were all criminals in law, if they were to be tried by the same criterion as peaceful and civilized men. An investigation was commenced, which occasioned the severe punishment of a considerable number, and the condemnation and execution of a few. The Lord of the Isles, the representative of the house

which had set itself up in rivalry to the Scottish monarchs, was among those who were spared. But he appears to have looked on his imprisonment as a deadly insult to one little beneath a sovereign prince. He persuaded a large body of highlanders to follow him, and raised what historians generally call a rebellion, but what he and his followers would perhaps have called a last effort for the preservation of an independent highland kingdom.

James was on his way back to Edinburgh, but, ever prompt and stern in his measures, he returned towards Inverness, which the island chief was about to plunder, and attacked and defeated him. With some notions of royalty still clinging to him, he sent a sort of embassy to sue for peace; but the king was determined to seize and punish him as a criminal. Being eventually hard pressed by his pursuers, he resolved at last to throw himself at James's feet, and pray for mercy. One day he appeared suddenly as a suppliant at Holyrood. He was half naked, with only a few tattered remnants of dress insufficient for ordinary decorum, and he bore distinct marks in his emaciated form of the misery to which he had been subjected.

Nothing could have better suited the objects of the king, who wished to assert his power over all minor potentates, than such an exhibition. It greatly raised his influence in the eyes of the lowland population, who, at the period of the battle of Harlaw, and for some time afterwards, looked with extreme dread and horror on their wild Celtic neighbours. The writers of the histories of that period tell horrible tales of their cruelties. Among others, it is said that a poor woman having had her cattle seized by a chief, said she would not take off her shoes until she obtained redress from the king. The chief answered, that he would have her permanently shod in his own way, and accordingly a pair of iron shoes were nailed to her feet. After recovery from her wounds, it is said that she was enabled to reach the court, and show the scars as evidence of the cruelties inflicted on her, and thus to get justice done on her persecutor.

3. LEGISLATION OF JAMES I.—But all the proceedings of King James were not merely of a repressive and arbitrary character. There was much beneficial legislation during his reign. The earliest acts of parliament, still used and referred to, are those of James I. These statutes are very brief in comparison with those of modern times. They have an air of extreme



simplicity, and many of them are more like the general precepts which an old experienced person might give to young people, or which a father of a family might impart to his children, than the serious enactments passed by a parliament as laws binding on a people. A specimen or two of these acts may be interesting. Each of the following paragraphs contains an entire act of the first parliament of James the First, held in 1424.

"It is statute, and the king forbids, that no man play at the foot-ball, under the pain of fifty shillings, to be raised to the lord of the land, as oft as he be tainted, or to the sheriff of the land, or his ministers, if the lords will not punish such trespassers."

This statute would appear to be levelled against a very innocent game; but in many parts of Europe, and especially in France, from which perhaps the practice was taken, games at foot-ball, between the people of one place and those of another, were productive of rivalries and violence, often creating murders. Another act as to rooks may seem no less trifling and extravagant.

"For that men consider that rooks bigging[building] in kirkyards, orchyards, or trees, does great scaith among corn, it is ordained that they that such trees pertain to, let [prohibit] them to big, and suffer in no ways that their birds fle away. And where it be tented that they big, and the birds be flown, and the nests be funden in the trees at beltane, the trees shall be forfeited to the king (but if they be redeemed from him through them that they first pertained to), and hewn down, and five shillings to be the king's unlaw."

Some of the laws were for enforcing the restrictive policy of the time, which was founded on the view that everything gained by our neighbours is a loss to ourselves. The object of the restrictions, some of them extremely peremptory, was to prohibit the sale of whatever was valuable to other countries, and to promote the purchase of similar commodities. Thus it was considered that Scotland would always have the best of the bargain, for she would sell what was worthless, and buy only what was of value. The following are instances of these peremptory acts: the one relating to horses, the other to taulch or tallow.

"It is ordained that no horse be sold out of the realm till at the least they be three years old outgone, under the pain of escheat of them to the king."

"It is ordained that no taulch be had out of the realm, under the pain of escheat of it to the king."

A very brief act of the second parliament has a more onerous meaning, and is evidently directed against the followers of Wickliffe and other anticipators of the Reformation.

"Item anent heretics and Lollards—that ilk bishop shall gar inquire [make inquiry] to the inquisition of heresy where any such bes founden, and that they be punished as law of holy kirk requires; and gif it mistarries, that secular power be called in support and helping of holy kirk."

During the reigns of the earlier Jameses, there were several acts of cruelty committed under this act; but they obtained very little notice, for the heretic was considered as a general enemy by the prejudiced people, and they felt no sympathy for his fate.

#### 4. CORPORATIONS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—

An act passed in the year 1427, proclaiming "that small barons and freeholders need not come to parliament," was of great historical importance. It was the adoption of the representative system as the king had seen it in operation in England. The main object for which the feudal vassals of the crown were called together in parliament was, that they might agree to grant taxes or aids, and the legislative power, which afterwards became so important, was probably a mere secondary consideration. As the smaller vassals or country gentry formed a large miscellaneous and not very orderly body, they were exempt from personal attendance, and allowed to send deputies or representatives. The municipal corporations, burrows, or burghs as the word is now more generally spelt, had at the same time been growing into importance. They were at first a sort of associations for protection against the oppression of the feudal aristocracy, and were an imitation of the Roman municipal communities. A corporation was like a tribe or clan, with the difference that its head or chief magistrate was elective instead of being hereditary. Thus, while there were lowland barons with their vassals, and highland chiefs with their clans, each forming a compact community for attack or defence, there was also here and there a corporation united together for its own protection, generally possessed of a castle, and surrounded by a fortified wall, on which those who had the privilege of being burgesses did duty in their turn as soldiers.

The burgesses were the direct vassals of the monarch, who

felt a great interest in supporting them against the influence of the feudal nobility. They had now a permanent seat and an influential voice in parliament, especially on the occasions when the amount of aids or taxes granted by them was considerable.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER.—Thus parliament consisted of the principal barons, with the representatives of the lesser barons and of the burgesses. But there was another body distinct from these, belonging to the ecclesiastical order, and consisting of the bishops and the mitred abbots. These were the heads of affluent monasteries, such as Arbroath, Cambuskenneth, Paisley, and others. The chiefs of such establishments were sometimes greater men even than the feudal nobility. The zeal of the monarchs, from St David downwards, had invested them with large estates and revenues, and they had formidable trains of armed vassals. Such learning and art as existed were almost exclusively confined to the churchmen. They especially cultivated architecture, and, with the assistance of foreign masons and architects, erected the abbeys and other buildings whose remains still delight the lover of the picturesque. They increased their power and influence by the cultivation of the useful arts. It has always been said that they contrived to obtain the most fruitful districts of the country; but it must also be remembered, that by skilful cultivation they made a better use of such districts than the feudal barons, who thought only of war and destruction, and that in reality the fruitfulness was in a great measure created by their own enlightened industry. Such were the sources of the power and wealth of the ecclesiastical estate of the realm,—a power and wealth which came afterwards to be abused, and led to the downfall of a corrupt hierarchy.

6. THE PARLIAMENT thus constituted was not divided, like the English parliament, into two houses; but all the estates sat together. The method of transacting business was to appoint a committee from the several estates for that purpose. They were called the Lords of the Articles, and by degrees they engrossed the real power of parliament, which met to appoint the lords, and then met again to look over and approve of the business which they had transacted.

There were at the same time other committees for important purposes. Parliament, or the assemblage of the vassals of the crown, was the supreme court of appeal when any wrong was committed by the royal judges. There were at that time

a chancellor, one or more justiciaries, and the sheriffs and lords of regality, many of whom held their power by hereditary right, as they held their estates. Appeals for justice to the king in parliament becoming very frequent, much judicial business came to be there transacted. Its proper discussion was not consistent with the character of such an assemblage, even when the lesser barons appeared by their representatives. Hence the judicial business was generally managed by committees, denominated lords auditors, or lords for complaints, and the like. In the year 1435, a committee of a permanent kind was appointed for the judicial business,—it was called the daily session, and may be looked upon as the precursor of the present Court of Session.

7. STATE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.—From what has been above stated, it is hoped that some conception may be formed of the condition of Scotland at that important era when the reigns of the Jameses commenced. What has been said relates chiefly to the members of parliament, the powerful churchmen, and the most eminent people of the community, because it is of these that the most full and satisfactory information can be obtained. However desirable it may be to learn the condition of the common people, little can be ascertained on the point until periods comparatively recent. It can only be generally known, that unless a poor man were protected by some lord or churchman, he was in a very abject condition, and that to be poor and independent was almost impossible. Actual slavery had existed to a great extent in early times, as it did in England, and an estate might be sold with the bondsmen on it. It was, as has been seen, the policy of James I. to raise the position of the people at large, and break the power of the feudal nobility. Yet it was not until the year 1469 that a tenant was acknowledged by the law to have any goods of his own. Before that time, whatever was upon the land was held to be the property of its lord, and the cattle or tools of his tenant could be seized for his debt or his offence. In that year an act was passed, "that the puir tenants shall pay no further than their term's mail for their lord's debt;"—that is to say, that they should be only required to pay to the creditor the rent due by them.

8. EDUCATION.—In a general view of the condition of Scotland, the state of education is at this time important. The plan of erecting universities had for some time been prevalent on the Continent. A university meant generally a corporation, the

privileges of which were to be respected throughout Christendom; but it came finally to be applied to seats of learning, which were erected by princes, or other temporal lords, and received their privileges from the papal see. It was thus that in a time when nations were divided by hatred and hostility, there was a common bond of union among the scholars; for as the universities all obtained their privileges from the same source, they respected each other's members. Hence Scotsmen went from the Scottish colleges to be professors in those of Germany and France; and there had indeed long been a Scottish college connected with the university of Paris.

It was in the year 1411 that the university of St Andrews received its privileges,—that of Glasgow dates from the year 1450, and a third was founded at Aberdeen in 1494. Education in general in that age was in the hands of the clergy, whose learning, though sometimes very meagre, was the only scholarship then in existence. Besides the universities, there were schools connected with some of the monastic foundations, and it was understood that the tithes paid to the clergy were a remuneration not only for their pastoral duties, but for the task of instruction, which however they rarely performed. In one form or another during the fifteenth century there were Latin schools in the towns, and also "lecture schools," where the vernacular language of Scotland was taught. In the year 1491, it was enacted that barons and freeholders who are of substance should send their eldest sons and heirs to school at the age of nine years at the latest, and keep them there until they became well-grounded in Latin, sending them afterwards for three years to learn the laws.

LITERATURE.—The king was not only a bold and practical politician, but also a man of fine genius, who spent the leisure he could snatch from the affairs of state in composing poems, which may still be read with pleasure. Such an example naturally encouraged a taste for this class of literature. Scotland could at this period boast of one eminent poet, John Barbour, the archdeacon of Aberdeen, whose works have been already quoted. He was followed by Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, and others of inferior note. Their poems are sometimes coarse and personal; but there are many passages of great sweetness and beauty, founded on a close knowledge and observation of nature.

9. Very few additional events in the reign of James I. have to be recorded before its fatal termination. There was

a famine of more than ordinary severity in the land; and an invasion of the English under Sir Robert Lyle was repelled with spirit and promptitude. The king was engaged in the siege of Roxburgh Castle when he was mysteriously called away by the queen. It has been thought that she had heard rumours of the doom awaiting him; but they must have been afterwards hushed, for he took no precautions, and became an easy victim to the plotters.

**MURDER OF JAMES I.**—A portion of the aristocracy against whom he had taken his strong measures were determined to be revenged. At their head was Sir Robert Graham, a man of desperate and ferocious character, whom the king had exasperated by depriving him of estates which he had acquired during the regency of Albany. He was aided by the Earl of Atholl, who had great influence for the accomplishment of their ends, as he had the command of a large highland territory. Graham, sending a defiance to the king, retreated to the mountains, and there gathered around him a band of the Celtic natives, who were ever ready to join in any turbulent enterprise.

The secret seems to have been well kept, for the king put himself almost into the hands of the conspirators. He resolved to hold the Christmas and New Year's festivities in the rich convent of the Dominican friars at Perth, a building which has now disappeared. It is said that when he was on his way, a highland woman, or, as the chroniclers call her, an Irish woman, crossed the king's path, and warned him of his danger. One evening, that of the 20th of February, it was told to the king that the same person earnestly desired to have an audience. He said he would see her on the morrow, but she mournfully observed that the morrow would never come for him.

He had been holding high revel; and almost at midnight he was standing before the fire chatting playfully with the ladies of the court, when an ominous noise was heard without. It seems remarkable that, in those days of violence, kings should have had so scanty a protection. There was no defence to the monastery but a moat; and the treacherous chamberlain, Sir Robert Stewart, who had joined the conspiracy, threw planks across it, which enabled the murderers to pass. As the conspirators were heard battering down the doors and rushing through the passages, there could be no doubt of their intentions. The bolt of the room had been

removed, and a young attendant of the queen, who heroically thrust her arm into the staple, had it broken by the assailants pressing violently in.

It was known that there was a vault or sewer under the chamber, and into this the king descended, by lifting one of the stone flags of the floor. The ruffians searched some time for him in vain ; and he might have escaped had it not been that some days before he had caused the opening of the vault towards the outer court to be filled up, because when he played at tennis the balls were apt to fall into it. He was thus deprived of the means of exit ; but even yet he might have saved his life had it not been for his impatience. The conspirators had actually left the chamber in despair of finding him. Observing that the noise had ceased, he called to the women to assist him in getting up. One of them in her efforts fell in beside him, and it appears that the noise of her fall excited the attention of the traitors. Two of them, Sir John Hall and his brother, along with Graham, leaped into the vault. James was strong and brave, and though unarmed he made a desperate resistance, leaving marks of his prowess on the assassins, before Graham despatched him with repeated stabs of his dagger. The king's attendants, and the townspeople of Perth were at last aroused by the cries and confusion, but not so speedily as to prevent the conspirators from making good their retreat to the highlands.

The widowed queen exerted herself to avenge her husband's death, and so effectually, that the chief conspirators were all seized within a month. Atholl and others were executed, but horrible and brutal tortures were reserved for Graham, who boasted of the deed which he had done. He was nailed on a cross and dragged through the streets, men walking on each side of him, and tearing his flesh with pincers. He made an appeal to his tormentors in these remarkable terms, that they should give over, lest, if they continued, he might blaspheme his God, and bring the guilt upon their heads.

10. JAMES II.—By this deed, in the year 1427 the succession was opened to James II., then a child of six years old. During his unhappy minority, he was the object of perpetual plots and changes ; for it was the great aim of ambitious statesmen to get, in any manner, possession of his person, and thus have the means of ruling the kingdom. It had been the policy of James I. to fill the high offices, not with the heads

of the most influential houses, but by men of inferior position. This was part of the system by which he endeavoured to prevent the nobility from obtaining an overwhelming influence, and balanced one description of power against another. Among those who had been raised to high place, and retained their influence after his death, was Crichton the chancellor. An idea may be formed of his great wealth and power from the ruins of his beautiful castle of Crichton, near the head of the Scottish Tyne. He had the command of Edinburgh castle, and there he kept the young king closely guarded. The queen-mother, however, who took part with his rival Livingston, the commander of Stirling Castle, got the boy removed out of the fortress like a piece of smuggled goods in a clothes-trunk. Afterwards, however, Crichton met or waylaid the royal child when he was hunting, and recovered possession of his person.

11. THE RISE OF THE DOUGLASES.—Before this occurred, the rivals had found reason to unite their influence against that of the powerful nobility, who wished to pull them down from their supremacy. At the head of the coalition against them was the young chief of the house of Douglas. He was a descendant of the line of Bruce, and his ancestor obtained in marriage a princess of the house of Stuart, to induce him, it was said, not to distract the country by urging his own pretensions to the throne. The family had immense property in Scotland, with a multitude of vassals. But what appears chiefly to have supported their high arrogance, was the possession of the duchies of Touraine and Longueville in France.

In that country, the Scottish lord had appeared to hold rank like the Dukes of Burgundy, the Counts of Flanders, and other potentates, who, although they were feudatories of the crown of France, yet had something like the power of sovereign princes. Douglas, after their example, sent ambassadors to do homage for him to the French king. His acquaintance with foreign manners gave him an air of haughty superiority over the rude nobles of Scotland, and even the court had a homespun provincial air to one who had frequented the brilliant palaces of the Continent.

It is not exactly known what were the designs of the proud and powerful head of the Douglasses. He did not attend the parliament for the purpose of carrying out his projects by his influence in that assembly, and, indeed, appeared to consider the usual service there as beneath his dig-



nity. It was known, however, that he desired the downfall of Crichton and Livingston; and they resolved to protect themselves without many scruples as to the means.

An invitation was sent to young Douglas in very flattering and deferential terms, as if he were a sovereign prince, to visit the king his relation in the castle of Edinburgh. Douglas went thither, accompanied by his brother and a train of attendants. One day at dinner they were suddenly seized and bound as criminals. It is generally said that a raw bull's head was introduced at the feast, as a savage method of intimating, according to an ancient practice, that the guest was a doomed man. A pretence of a trial was held, and the two young men were put to death in the castle-yard, though it is said that their kinsman, the king, pleaded strongly, as it is but natural that he should have done, for their lives.

It seemed for a time as if Crichton and Livingston had by this treacherous act rid themselves of the overpowering influence of the house of Douglas. One portion of the estates went to an uncle, celebrated in that warlike and restless race for his fatness and indolence, and hence named James the Gross; while the other went to a sister of the slain brothers, known as the Fair Maid of Galloway. Within two years, however, a son of James the Gross, who had all the fire and ambition of his ancestors, married his cousin the fair maid, and reunited the vast possessions of the house.

He determined to avenge the injuries of his family, but was less presumptuously arrogant than his cousin had been, and more careful in his steps. He sought and obtained the countenance of the young king, who was easily persuaded by him to get rid of the bondage to which the power of the two rulers subjected him. War was declared against them, and Douglas carried it on with vigour: he attacked and dismantled Crichton Castle, and took that of Edinburgh after a siege of nine months. Crichton, however, though a subject resisting his sovereign, was enabled to obtain terms of capitulation. Both he and Livingston escaped with life; but the opportunity was not omitted for compelling them to disgorge a large portion of their accumulated wealth.

Douglas, who was a decided favourite with the new king, now became lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and exercised far more power than the two statesmen whom he displaced had possessed together. He showed himself a gallant commander, and along with his relation, the Earl of Ormond, baffled an

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attempted invasion of the English. But the example of so much power, obtained through feudal influence, was not likely to make peaceable and contented subjects of the other feudal lords. There perhaps was scarcely another period in which Scotland, sadly disturbed as she had ever been by interminable contests, suffered so much from the ambition and ferocity of the nobles. In one dispute in Angusshire, about a petty local question, which in civilized times would be referred to a court of law, a bloody battle was fought, and 500 people were killed.

12. FALL OF THE DOUGLASES.—The king, as he approached the age of manhood, grew tired of the power and influence of Douglas, in whom he felt that he had a master rather than a minister. He withdrew his countenance, and Douglas, who was not the man to play the disappointed courtier, retired sullenly to his estates, where he concentrated his resources. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, passing through France and other countries with all the pomp of a prince. During his absence, his vassals pursued the course of turbulence and oppression in which they had been trained. This determined the king to strike a blow at his power, and, marching into the midst of his territory, he destroyed his main stronghold, Douglas Castle.

The alarming news of this vigorous measure hastened the earl's return. Professing to submit to the royal justice, he was again employed as a minister; but this was a mere temporary suppression or concealment of his pride and resentment, which he displayed in an attempt to seize the now aged chancellor Crichton, to whom he attributed the royal enmity. Again he retired from the court of the monarch to hold his own feudal court in Clydesdale. But on this occasion it was with the view of intrenching himself in the midst of a formidable combination.

It had often been the practice in Scotland for leaders or chiefs to enter into bonds, according to the forms of law, for the purpose of performing unlawful acts. Douglas entered into a bond of this kind, for mutual support and co-operation, with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, who were, next to himself, the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, exercising their influence in other parts of the country. Douglas desired some of the smaller barons and country gentlemen to join in the bond; and if they refused, they generally found their castles or estates attacked and pillaged by the retainers

of the Douglas. One of these sufferers, named Herries, attempting to redress himself in Douglasdale, was seized and hanged. A more startling instance of feudal outrage was that of the tutor of Bombie, or the person who, acting as guardian of the young laird of Bombie, conducted the business of his family and vassals. The tutor refused to join in the bond, and Douglas, besieging his house, took him prisoner. His fate was easily anticipated. Sir Patrick Grey, the captain of the king's body-guard, desiring to save the life of the tutor, who was a connexion of his own, went to intercede with Douglas in the name of the king. Douglas courteously asked him to partake of dinner, saying, they could proceed to business afterwards. In the mean time, he had the tutor beheaded, and the mutilated body was laid down in the courtyard. After the repast was over, he professed to accede to Grey's request, and showing him the body, said, with a grim smile: "Yonder is your sister's son; you may take him with you if you like, only you have come somewhat late, for he wants the head." Grey in his wrath threatened the earl with vengeance, as he darted on horseback from the castle, and narrowly escaped being seized by the earl's followers, who pursued him.

The conclusion aptly illustrates the text, that one bloody act begets another; so that he who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. The king desired the Earl of Douglas to come to visit him at Stirling Castle, during the Lent of 1582. As the earl naturally feared to trust himself in the royal hands, he stipulated for and received a written assurance of safety, and it does not seem indeed that any violence was deliberately intended towards him. At supper the king took him apart into a small side-room, and held an earnest conversation with him. After the discussion of other matters, it turned at last on the very serious subject of the bond or combination. James eagerly and passionately called upon Douglas to renounce it. The earl doggedly refused. The king then crying out, "If you do not break it, this shall," plunged a dagger into his breast. Grey, who had his own motives for vengeance, seeing such an example set, fell upon the earl, and with other attendants despatched him. This deed, even if we suppose it not premeditated, casts an indelible stain on the memory of James.

Douglas had five brothers, who instantly assembled together, along with their numerous kin and allies, under the banner of

the eldest, who succeeded to the title of the murdered earl. The safe-conduct was dragged at the tail of a cart-horse, and with solemn proclamation and sound of trumpet, King James was denounced as a false and perjured man. The Douglasses did not, however, attempt to besiege Stirling Castle, but proceeded to concentrate their forces.

The events which immediately followed are somewhat obscure, as it is evident that there were secret inducements at work, the nature of which cannot now be known. The influential nobility and leaders throughout the kingdom were forced to take part either with the king or with the house of Douglas. This family, however, suffered a defalcation from its proper ranks, since Angus, the head of one of its branches rapidly rising into importance, thought fit to take the side of the monarch. The Earl of Huntly, whose power was eclipsing that of the Earl of Ross in the north, was the main support of the king, and in a conflict with Crawford, the great ally of the Douglasses, he gained a considerable victory.

13. A lull appears to have occurred, and peace to have been nominally made with the Douglasses, which was broken by the new earl's determining to force a marriage with his slain brother's widow, against the rule of the canon law, removable only by a dispensation from the pope, which had not been obtained, and also against the widow's own consent. As the object was to reunite the domain and influence of the house, it was taken up as a matter of state, and Douglas was called upon to answer for his conduct in parliament. He gave a contemptuous refusal, and again prepared for war.

It is stated that he had at his command the enormous force of 40,000 men in arms, at Abercorn, near Edinburgh, and that the king shrank from a contest. But, however it might be brought about, it is certain that some deserting, were followed by others, and the mighty host dwindled down by rapid degrees. The Douglasses found it necessary to retreat to their own strongholds, where they conducted but a feeble defence. Their followers felt that, in a conflict with a monarch, defeat is followed by exterminating punishment, and there are double dangers in helping a losing and diminishing cause. Some of the border families, such as the Scots, who had risen from obscurity to affluence, as retainers of the Douglasses, were among their most determined opponents. On the first of May 1455, in a final conflict, near Lougholm, the power of the formidable combination was destroyed. One of

the brothers was slain in the field, a second was taken prisoner and executed, while the others fled to England.

The forfeitures of the large estates of this family enriched many others. At the same time a provision, wise in itself, but not very well kept, was made to preserve as the property of the crown a large portion of these estates, prohibiting their alienation to private persons. The country, strengthened by the suppression of an internal foe, was better fitted to cope with its old enemies of England, and a plundering excursion across the border was tolerably successful.

**DEATH OF JAMES II.**—In the autumn of the year 1460, siege was laid to the castle of Roxburgh, which had remained in the possession of England since the captivity of David II. The cannon, which was destined to revolutionize warfare, had been for a short time invented as a novel warlike engine, but its enormous power was still unknown. It was scarcely more formidable, as yet, than the catapults and other instruments for discharging stones by powerful springs. One of the new instruments, clumsily made, as they then were, with bars of iron hooped together like the staves of a cask, was employed in the siege. It proved more disastrous to those using it than to the garrison, for bursting while the king was standing near, a fragment struck and instantly slew him. In the year 1449, he had been married to Mary, the daughter of the Duke of Gueldres, who survived him, and founded an hospital in Edinburgh, along with a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How is the restoration of King James an important epoch? What had the king observed in the nature of the English government? How did the feudal system differ in the two countries? What was the nature of the sub-infeudation of Scotland?
2. What strong measures did the reign begin with? Describe what occurred in the highlands.
3. State what is to be remarked about the legislation of this reign. Give an idea of the object of some of the laws. What class was persecuted?
4. What law was passed in the year 1427? Describe another alteration made in the constitution of parliament.
5. Of what different estates did the parliament consist? Give an account of the ecclesiastical body.
6. What was the difference between the English and Scottish parliament in the arrangements for business? Who were the Lords of the Articles, and what were their functions?
7. Have we extensive means of knowledge of the condition of the common people? How far did slavery exist? What law was made in 1469?
8. What was the nature of the earlier universities for education? Give the dates of foundation of these Scottish universities. What kind of schools were these? What kind of literature had made progress?

9. Who conspired for the murder of James I.? What occasion was taken for perpetrating it? Describe it. What followed?

10. What sort of monarch succeeded? What rivalry and animosity arose?

11. Describe the position of the Douglasses. What occurred in Edinburgh Castle? How was the power of the family restored?

12. How did Douglas act when discountenanced? What was the nature of the bond in which he engaged? Describe a tragical incident connected with it. What event in Stirling Castle was the consequence? How did the Douglasses act?

13. Give an account of the fall of the Douglasses. What was its result? How was James II. killed?

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES III. TO THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN, A.D. 1460—1513.

England and the Wars of the Roses—Highland Insurrection—Orkney and Shetland—The Boyds and Hamiltons—The King's Encouragement of Art—The King's Brothers—Fate of the Favourite Cochrane—Death of James III.—Accession of James IV.—Perkin Warbeck—The Scottish Navy—War with England—Battle of Flodden—Character of the Reign of James IV.

1. ENGLAND AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES.—The throne was now again filled by a boy, and one whose character was not well suited for the government of Scotland at such a time. The widow of James II. urged on the siege which had been so disastrous to her husband, and the castle of Roxburgh was taken and destroyed, according to the old policy of Scotland towards the border fortresses, which were always more dangerous to the liberty of the country by falling into the hands of the English, than useful as a protection from their invasions.

For some time, the relations of the country towards England were peculiar and precarious, on account of the varied fortunes in the wars of the Roses. At the commencement of the reign of James III., the ambitious queen of Henry VI., on her husband's seizure and imprisonment, was a refugee in Scotland. He was presently afterwards on the throne, but held it only for a brief period, and being defeated, the king and queen were once more fugitives in Scotland. It was unsafe for that country to take part in the English contests; yet the insecurity of

the reigning monarch of England in some measure kept Scotland free from aggression. On the one hand, Henry VI. offered to make over Berwick and Carlisle to the Scots if he received assistance to recover his kingdom. On the other, Edward IV. attempted to make use, as his predecessor had done, of the natural antipathy of the highland chiefs to a lowland government.

2. HIGHLAND INSURRECTION.—The Earl of Ross, now the most powerful among them, acted as their head, and assembled a congress of the chiefs at his Hall of Ardtornish. There he was joined by his cousin, Donald Balloch, an able and successful leader of the mountaineers, who, as the son of the Lord of Islay, considered himself as a kind of sovereign. The Lord of Lorne, the descendant of the defeated Lord of the Isles, and many other highland potentates, were present. Though the highlands had been brought under the sway of the Scottish king since the battle of Harlaw, the chiefs, when thus assembled together, felt something like their old strength, and, like a sovereign state, they made a treaty with England. They were seconded by the fugitive Douglas, who wished to avenge the humiliation of his house. The arrangement with the English king was for a complete dismemberment of Scotland. It was contemplated that all the territories north of the Forth would fall to be partitioned among the ambitious leaders, who would become subsidiary sovereigns owning a feudal dependence on the King of England. A highland army assembled and seized Inverness, plundering the northern lowlands. But vigorous measures were adopted for its destruction; and from some reason not very well known, it fell to pieces, the highlanders retreating to their mountains.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.—The event next in importance at the commencement of this reign settled the political relations of the Orkney and Shetland Isles. It has been mentioned that the crown of Scotland retained these islands on the condition of making a periodical payment to Norway. It was now nearly two hundred years since, in 1286, this arrangement had been made, and nations, when they become strong enough to resist it, seldom pay tribute to their neighbours. It was maintained, on the part of Scotland, that the payment had remained so long unasked that it must be considered as abandoned. The dispute was referred to the King of France, who, at the time of James II.'s death, had suggested a settlement by a marriage with the young prince and Mar-

garet, princess of Denmark. The project was afterwards revived, and the marriage took place in 1469. It was arranged that all the arrears of the "annual," as it was termed, payable for the islands, should be discharged. The princess was at the same time to have a dowry of 60,000 florins. Ten thousand were paid, but the remaining 50,000 were secured or mortgaged on the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and never having been paid, these islands have remained part of Scotland, and subsequently of the British empire.

3. THE BOYDS AND HAMILTONS.—James III., like his grandfather, lies under the imputation of having advanced his friends from obscurity to power and influence beyond their deserts. Among a turbulent and restless nobility, persons so favoured often enjoyed a dangerous elevation, and the hatred felt against them by the older nobility has been the cause of many a bloody tragedy in the Scottish annals. His earliest favourites were the family of the Boyds, who presumed on their elevation to remove the young king by force from the charge of the guardians appointed by the Estates. One of them received the high dignity of the earldom of Arran, along with the hand of the king's sister, the Princess Margaret.

But the combined hostility of the aristocracy against this family was too powerful to be resisted, and at last the king himself seemed to be tired of his presumptuous favourites. Arran took refuge abroad. It is not known whether he died or was divorced from the princess, for she soon afterwards married the head of the rising house of Hamilton. This was an event of more importance than it might seem to possess; for the children of Boyd, earl of Arran, dying early, the family of Hamilton became the nearest to the throne,—a circumstance which appears to have influenced the members of that house for nearly three centuries.

THE KING'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART.—The king made other friendships which were still more unpopular. Among them were artists and musicians; and as he was very partial to the cultivation of architecture, an architect named Cochrane was admitted to a large share in his confidence. It is probably to their united efforts that we owe no small portion of the beautiful decorated work which adorns the palaces of Stirling and Falkland; and it is certain that there was at this time a great restoration of Gothic architecture. It did not take the same form as the English-Gothic, sometimes called the Tudor style, of which the chapel of Henry VII. in West-



minster is a specimen. The Scottish architecture of the day was national and peculiar, and, so far as other styles were imitated, it took its models rather from France and other continental nations than from England.

In a more civilized age, James III. would have been perhaps illustrious as a patron of art; but among the rough, uneducated, and violent Scottish aristocracy, his pursuits were considered as degrading; and the men of taste or genius who assisted him were treated as low minions. For a king to have such associates was considered as indecorous as if he had kept company with grooms and footmen. A ruler must in some degree conform to the humours of his people, however barbarous and unreasonable they may be; and perhaps James ought to have been more cautious of outraging their prejudices. But it is strange, in this now enlightened day, to find King James's love of art, and fellowship with artists, spoken of as if it were a degrading weakness.

He was as unpopular in the pursuits which he disliked as in those which he cultivated. He did not care for athletic exercises, or even for field-sports. It was deemed not only despicable, but almost unnatural, not to love hunting and hawking; and even in the present day it is sometimes thought that a love of these pursuits is an essential feature in the character of an accomplished gentleman.

4. THE KING'S BROTHERS.—The king was very disadvantageously compared in the public mind with his two brothers, Albany and Mar. In the words of the old chronicler Fitzcottie, James "was a man that loved solitariness, and desired never to hear of war, but delighted more in music, and poetry, and building, than he did in the government of his realm." But he described Prince John, the earl of Mar, as "a fair, lusty man, of a great and well-proportioned stature, well-faced, and comely in all his behaviours, who knew nothing but nobility. He used meikle hunting and hawking, with other gentlemanly exercise, and delighted also in entertaining of great and stout horses and mares, that their offspring might flourish, so that he might be served therewith in time of war."

It is certain that some encouragement was given by the two princes to the discontented nobility; but whether they entered into any plot to kill or dethrone their brother is still shrouded in mystery. They were at all events both seized. Mar was committed to the castle of Craigmillar near Edinburgh, where

he died. It was given out that he had committed suicide, but it was reported also that he had been killed by being bled to death. Albany, who was confined in Edinburgh Castle, made his escape, and entered into intrigues with the English king. In fact, on the condition of being placed on the throne, he agreed, after the example of Baliol, to admit the old claim of superiority over Scotland. He was at the same time to make other sacrifices to England, such as the town of Berwick, which had now been for some years in possession of Scotland; and the banished Douglas, who was to aid him in the betrayal of their country, was to be reinstated in his domains. Thus aided, the youthful duke of Gloucester, afterwards celebrated as Richard III., proceeded with an army to Scotland.

**FATE OF THE FAVOURITE COCHRANE.**—The Scots were ill prepared for an invasion. The king's favourite architect, Cochrane, had been so enriched with benefits and gifts, that, on parting with a portion of his wealth, he obtained the earldom of Mar, which had belonged to the king's brother. Even in a less feudal age, perhaps, the advancement of an architect to such rank would not be very acceptable to the nobility. Cochrane at the same time showed great pride and ostentation, and the fierce barons resolved to submit to his elevation no longer. In all his pomp, he accompanied the Scots army, which had reached the town of Lauder on the border. There the barons assembled in the church, and sat in grim conclave on the fate of Cochrane and his associate favourites. A story was told by one of them how the mice had agreed to hang a bell round the neck of the cat, that her motions might be heard by them. A cry arose of "Who'll bell the cat?" the Earl of Angus promptly answered, "I'll bell the cat," and was ever afterwards called "Archibald Bell-the-cat." Cochrane and his  
 15th July } friends were seized, and without trial or delay  
 1482. } hanged over the bridge of Lauder.

The threatened war with England was allowed in some mysterious manner to die away. It has not been explained whether there was any understanding between Albany and the Scottish lords for his succeeding to the crown or obtaining the regency. Perhaps the English were content with what they had already accomplished, for they recovered possession of Berwick with all its important fortifications. A century or two earlier, Scotland and England sometimes changed their boundaries without any difficulty, according to

the fortunes of war ; but now each country was so distinctly defined, that Berwick could not, properly speaking, form a part of England. It was dealt with as a separate conquest ; and in acts of parliament even after the Union, the different divisions of the island were spoken of as England, Scotland, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

5. DEATH OF JAMES III.—The king's partiality for music was destined to have calamitous results. In the beautiful Gothic church which still stands on the declivity of the castle-rock of Stirling, he desired to establish a choir of singers. To their support he devoted certain revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham on the border. The large estates of this establishment were treated as a sort of private property by the two great neighbouring houses of Hume and Hepburn, who had made a family arrangement for the election of the prior from each of them alternately. They found it easy to get their rapacious brethren of the nobility to make common cause with them, for many of these had but questionable titles to their estates, and were readily alarmed when they saw the king looking about for revenues to be devoted to the promotion of architecture and music. The lords assembled in rebellion, and having taken possession of the young prince, the king's son, they asserted that they were congregated under the royal banner.

James was not fit either in temper or warlike talents to put down such an insurrection. The confederates were drawn up at a place called Sauchieburn, near the battle-ground of Falkirk. The king can scarcely be said to have fought against them, for, distracted by his novel position, and shocked at meeting his son in battle, he soon fled. As he passed through a village, his horse took fright at a woman drawing water, and starting off threw him to the ground. He was taken up sorely wounded, and conveyed into a mill-house. The account  
 11th June } of his end is mysterious and doubtful. He is said to  
 1488. } have cried out that he was their sovereign, so that  
 the people ran out calling for a priest to confess the king. A person passing by said he was a priest, and bending over the wounded man, as if to confess him, stabbed him with a dagger.

6. ACCESSION OF JAMES IV.—By these events the throne was again made vacant for a youthful monarch, and in the year 1488, James IV., then sixteen years old, succeeded. It was said that the melancholy events connected with his father's

death made a deep impression on his mind, and that he did penance in the feeling that he had in some measure the guilt of parricide on his conscience. Few important events occurred in the early part of his reign. The politic Henry VII. occupied the English throne, who desired to keep peace with Scotland, and to lay the foundation of a permanent union by the marriage of the young king with his daughter Margaret.

The Scots had now, however, acquired a fixed hostility to England, and viewed with suspicion every proposal coming from that quarter. The marriage did not take place until the year 1503; and, in the mean time, there would have been deadly war between the kingdoms, but for the sagacity and moderation of the English monarch.

**PERKIN WARBECK.**—The Scots had always a partiality for the cause of any questionable aspirants to the English throne. The adventurer, Perkin Warbeck, professing to be the representative of the house of York, easily prevailed on the young king to acknowledge his claims and aid him with an army. This impostor, who was a remarkably handsome and fascinating youth, was permitted to marry a daughter of the Earl of Huntly; and when he was afterwards hanged as a criminal, she was kindly treated at the court of England, where, in allusion to her pale, melancholy face, and her husband's profession to represent the house of York, she was called the White Rose. An invasion of England, conducted for the cause of Warbeck, had little effect, as his claims were not supported by a sufficient number of the English, and the King of Scots had to abandon it in disappointment. He probably had good reason for doubting Warbeck's pretensions; but James IV. had adopted chivalrous principles, and if he did not very nicely examine the claims of the adventurer, he would not surrender to the English monarch the defeated impostor, whom, however, he sent out of the kingdom.

**7. THE SCOTTISH NAVY.**—A rather remarkable feature of the conflicts with England at this period, was the naval victories of the Scottish admiral Sir Andrew Wood of Largo. It was now that England began to acquire her great naval supremacy; and yet it seemed for a time likely to yield to the still greater naval power of Scotland. The northern part of the island, indeed, from the stormy character of the sea and the many lochs and other inlets, was better fitted for the growth of seamen even than England. But the time was coming when the naval force of a country must depend less on the fitting

out of vessels of war for combat or plunder, than on the number of sailors created by its active commerce. Unfortunately, while England was rising in commercial greatness, Scotland, a poorer country, which had difficulty in preserving its independence, was more extensively occupied in warfare. The Lord of the Isles and many highland chiefs had their navies of galleys like the Norwegian sea-kings of old, with which they often committed piracy or levied tribute. These were falling off as commerce gained ground, for the affluent states of Europe, Holland, the Hanse Towns, and England, which had many merchant vessels at sea, would not submit to see them plundered by pirates. Thus the merely piratical vessels were driven from the seas, and the commercial powers preponderated. But before this revolution had taken place, some considerable naval victories were gained by the Scottish seamen over the English. Besides Sir Andrew Wood, who, according to the accounts of the period, gained two victories over English fleets larger than his own, there were the two Bartons, who made the flag of Scotland terrible in the German Ocean, and along the coast of the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula. King James the Fourth, excited perhaps by the success of his sea-captains in these conflicts, formed the notion of constructing the largest ship in the world. It was to be navigated by three hundred mariners, and to have a thousand fighting men. This would be a very large crew for a vessel of war at the present day, with all its improvements in naval science; and, at that time, such a vessel must have been a mere clumsy floating castle, lying at the mercy of the winds and waves. She does not seem to have been put to any effective service; but the conflicts on the sea had much influence in bringing on the war with England, which proved alike fatal to James and the flower of the realm. The Bartons and other commanders, when the country was at peace with England, could not resist the temptation of attacking English vessels, and the two Howards, the heroic sons of the Earl of Surrey, were sent to punish Andrew Barton as a pirate, who, after a hard conflict, was defeated and killed.

8. WAR WITH ENGLAND.—There occurred at the same time some other disputes on the borders which tended to excite animosity between the two countries. Henry VII. had been succeeded by his impetuous and profligate son Henry VIII., and there was no effectual security for peace in the two monarchs being closely connected by the marriage of James to the

sister of Henry. The English king renewed the old projects of conquest in France, while James restored in closer terms than ever the bond of alliance between Scotland and that country. The Scottish nation had in the meantime been prospering and becoming powerful. The king's firm government at home, and the continuance of peace, had contributed to these results by promoting industry and trade. But now, instead of permitting the country to enjoy the fruits of prosperity, he seemed to be bent on applying them in the support of an ambitious war.

Hitherto Scotland had been content with defending herself against the aggressions of England. She now aspired to a position among the great powers who rule the destinies of Europe; and a formal embassy was sent to threaten Henry VIII. with the wrath of the King of Scotland, if he did not abandon his enterprise in France and return home. Henry was by no means a person likely to take such a demand meekly or submissively, and he retorted the Scottish king's threat with scornful defiance. King James had been in the mean time concentrating his resources. All the money which could be exacted by taxation or the claims of the crown against its vassals was collected. The vassals themselves were required to assemble with their contingents and followers, and the castles were stripped of their few cannon and other weapons to supply the great army which was to march into England.

The more wise among his advisers were deeply grieved at the headlong course of the Scottish king. The queen prayed that her husband would not make war on her brother. It would appear, indeed, that some stratagems were adopted to work on him through the aid of superstition. As he was sitting during service in the church of Linlithgow, a man suddenly appeared before him. Pitscottie, who had an account of the matter from eye-witnesses, said he had on a blue gown belted about with a roll of linen, and with "brottikins" or brogues on his feet. He walked sternly up to the king, making an obeisance, and said: "Sir king, my mother has sent me to thee, desiring thee not to go where thou art purposed, whilk if thou do, thou shalt not fare well on thy journey, nor none that is with thee. Farther, she forbade thee not to mell nor use the counsel of women, whilk if thou do thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame." It was said that the mysterious visitor suddenly disappeared as if he had not been a creature of flesh and blood. The advice to the king to

avoid female influence was much required, for he was apt to sacrifice his own interests and the safety and welfare of his people to the fantastic gallantry of the day. The Queen of France, Anne of Brittany, who worked for the interest of France to hurry on the attack on England, wrote a letter to the king, selecting him as her chosen champion, conveying to him a ring from her own finger, and beseeching him, for her sake, to penetrate as her champion, though it were but three steps, into English ground. When he was on his march southwards, an artful woman, the Lady Heron, distracted his attention with her blandishments, and kept him idle while the English army had time to be collected in force under the Earl of Surrey.

9. BATTLE OF FLODDEN.—Early in September of the year 1513, the Scottish king entered England with the finest army ever embodied in Scotland. It took up a strong position on Flodden Hill, an offshoot from the Cheviots, near where the sluggish river Till joins the Tweed. Surrey, who saw that the position was extremely strong, called on the Scottish king to come forth from his fortress and do battle on equal terms, believing that the spirit of chivalry would make him abandon his advantage. Finding that he would not receive the messengers, the English general still resolved, by a very bold movement, to take advantage of his adversary's chivalrous feeling. In order to occupy a position suitable for encountering the Scots, it was necessary to pass the narrow bridge across the Till. The opportunity was admirably suited for an attack, while the English troops were partly on one side and partly on the other. It was an occasion similar to that by which Wallace had profited at the battle of Stirling. But, though urged by Angus, Huntly, and Lord Lindsay of the Byres to take advantage of the opportunity, James let it pass; and the English army advanced, in compact order, upon the Scottish position at Flodden.

There, on the 9th of September, was fought the most disastrous, so far as regards the mere slaughter in the field, of all Scotland's battles. At the commencement, Huntly and Home charged the front of the English line so impetuously as to throw it into confusion. The Scottish borderers, indeed, thought themselves so far successful that they seem to have begun to plunder, when Lord Dacre, riding up with a reinforcement, completely changed the scene. This was the first great conflict in which the highlanders, as a

body, fought under the banner of the King of Scots. They ran forward impetuously with their swords and axes, according to their usual method ; but the English archers shot them down as they advanced, and they found it impossible to penetrate the compact square of pikemen. The right wing, formed by the mountaineers, was thrown into confusion like the left, consisting of the borderers ; and at length the centre, where the king fought among his highest nobles and his best generals, gave way. James was slain, and his fall was the commencement of a general slaughter. The flower of Scotland's nobility perished, and there was scarcely a distinguished house in the country which did not count a member dead on that fatal field. Had Surrey marched onwards, it is difficult to say what humiliations she might not have endured, since women and children, in so many instances, replaced those who had been the leaders of her armies. But the loss among the English had been considerable ; the district around them was at the same time wasted of provisions ; and Surrey, content with his victory, marched southwards.

10. CHARACTER OF THE REIGN OF JAMES IV.—King James IV., though not a moral man, was a popular ruler, from his heroic qualities, his chivalrous, romantic spirit, and his great affability. He was liked by his nobles, though he was severe in repressing their feuds and oppressions. He attacked both the border freebooters and the highland chiefs, bringing them into greater subjection to the law than any previous sovereign. In his reign we find that cultivation had so increased, that regulations were made for the preservation instead of the destruction of forest lands, and the planting and enclosing of timber were encouraged. Protection was at the same time given to lands which were cultivated and enclosed ; and while the inhabitants might run at will over the barren wastes, of which a great part of the country still consisted, all fenced and improved grounds were, by special laws, protected from intrusion. Learning increased during his reign ; and the arts and accomplishments of their French allies were acquired by the rude Scots. It was about the year 1507 that the mighty art of printing was introduced into Scotland by Walter Chapman. When we remember that in Germany it had been in practice between seventy and eighty years, and observe how seldom we are now, even a year, behind in any foreign improvement, we may estimate the recent progress of Scotland in comparison with that of other European states.



## EXERCISES.

1. What occurred immediately on the death of James II.? Mention the events in England which affected Scotland.
2. What was the condition of the highland chiefs? What bargains were made by them? Describe the relation of the Orkney Isles to Scotland. How were they finally kept?
3. What was the history of the Boyds? What family succeeded them in influence? Mention some peculiarities in the character of the king which exposed him to unpopularity.
4. Who were the king's brothers? How much is known about their character and intentions? Whose advancement gave offence? Give an account of the fate of Cochrane.
5. What partiality on the part of the king produced fatal results? How did his method of indulging in it exasperate the nobility? Tell what is recorded of the fate of James III.?
6. What proposal was made for bringing England and Scotland into closer connexion? How was Perkin Warbeck treated?
7. Mention a remarkable feature of the conflicts with England. From what source did the English navy acquire its strength? What sort of vessel was built in Scotland?
8. What circumstances brought on a war with England? What position did the King of Scotland aspire to? Give an account of the events preceding the battle of Flodden.
9. What position was taken up by the Scots? How was the advantage of it lost? Give an account of the battle.
10. Give a general account of the character of the reign of James IV.? When was printing introduced into Scotland?

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES V., A.D. 1513—1542.

Effect of the Battle of Flodden—The infant King and his Mother—The Regent Albany and French Influence—Feudal Contests—War with England—Second Ascendency of the Douglasses—Adventures of the Queen-dowager—A Highland Hunting—Power of Angus—Fall of the Douglasses—Establishment of Order—Character and Tastes of the King—Mary of Guise—Beginning of the Reformation Struggle—Solway Moss—Death of James and Birth of Queen Mary.

1. EFFECT OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.—The news of this disaster struck a panic into the capital, which, deprived of its best defenders, was exposed to an attack from the victorious English. The magistrates acted with a vigour equal to the exigencies of the occasion. The loss among the citizens was so great, that it was necessary especially to prohibit women from wailing in the streets; and all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms were required to join in the defence of the city. When the first alarm had passed away, arrangements were

nade for the permanent defence of the capital. A wall was built, of which some portions may still be seen bounding partly the grounds of Heriot's Hospital, and also partly those of the Royal Infirmary. In the subsequent contests with England, much advantage was felt from its protection. As the number of inhabitants increased, however, this wall, by limiting the extent of the building area, rendered it necessary to place house upon house, and it is to this that the enormous height of some of the dwellings in Edinburgh may be attributed. The citizens had learned from the French, who were under the same necessity in their walled towns, the practice of living in houses thus built one above another, and reached by a common flight of stairs,—a sort of perpendicular street.

THE INFANT KING AND HIS MOTHER.—The nation now acknowledged for its king an infant not two years old; and the first meeting of the Estates of the realm to settle the government, showed, by the scantiness of its numbers, what the country had lost on the field of Flodden. The widow of James IV. was appointed regent. Perhaps it was thought, that while she was governor of the kingdom it was not likely to be vehemently attacked by her brother Henry; but he was not a person to be affected by such considerations, and the Scots were immediately taught that they could rely on no protection against his ambition and tyranny but their own hardihood and resolution.

His sister at the same time disgusted her friends by her imprudent levity. She had but recently given birth to a posthumous son, when, forgetting its heroic father, for whom she had ever professed a sincere attachment, she married the young Douglas, the heir of the house of Angus, and grandson of Archibald Bell-the-cat. To ally herself with one of the most powerful families in Scotland might have been deemed an act of prudence, performed for the sake of her country and the kingdom, rather than for any object of her own; but the innocent haste with which she acted, and the extreme youth of her new husband, who was not likely to bring wise counsels to aid her in the regency, showed that she had merely followed her own selfish inclinations.

But the youth of the royal lady's partner did not prevent him from being arrogant and aspiring, and the Scottish nobility, not inclining to submit to such a ruler from their own body, looked elsewhere for another regent, deeming that Margaret had forfeited the office by her marriage.

2. THE REGENT ALBANY AND FRENCH INFLUENCE.—They naturally fixed on the Duke of Albany, a son of that brother of James III. who had escaped from Edinburgh Castle. The only person who could well have competed with him, against the claims of the queen-dowager and her husband, was the Earl of Arran, the head of the house of Hamilton, so intimately connected as we have seen with the royal family; but he, jealous of the rival house of Angus, favoured the claims of Albany.

This Albany was not a man of high courage or talent; yet his regency was an important event in fixing the character of the subsequent history of Scotland, by greatly enlarging the influence of France in the affairs of the nation. The tenor of events, which have to be recorded as applying to the reign of James V., and still more to that of Queen Mary, will be better understood by keeping this peculiarity in view.

The marriage of the late king with an English princess seemed to prepare the way for a good understanding between the two kingdoms. People naturally looked forward to the probability of the event which actually took place, that a descendant of this connexion might succeed to both crowns. But the regency of Albany disturbed such a prospect in the meantime. He was less of a Scotsman than of a Frenchman. He was the friend of the elegant and chivalrous Francis I., and held considerable dominions in France, through his wife, the heiress of the province of Aquitaine. He came over to Scotland, imbued with the tastes and feelings of a French courtier, to whom the poverty of the country, and the rough manners of its people, were extremely distasteful.

He brought with him the notions of absolute royal government and divine right, which had made great progress in France since the beginning of Louis the Eleventh's reign. Albany, scarcely conscious how little he was capable of combating with the power of the nobility, at once attacked them with the high hand of prerogative. Lord Home, who had become the ruling potentate on the border, resisted the authority of the regent, and, in concert with Angus, corresponded with the English court. For this he was seized, tried, and executed. The regent, somewhat tired of the rude habits of the Scottish nobles, and anxious to enjoy the elegant gaieties of the court he had been bred in, paid a visit to France, leaving a French noble, Anthony D'Arcy, the Lord of La Bastie, in the important office of Warden of the Border. The Homes

or Humes connected the appointment of the foreigner with the ignominious death of their chief. One of them, the laird of Wedderburn, set an ambush for him, in which he was slain. Like the other French courtiers of his day, it was his pride to wear his hair falling in long ringlets, and the laird of Wedderburn cutting off the head, hung it by the hair at his saddle-bow as he rode to Hume Castle.

3. FEUDAL CONTESTS.—The great families were now divided into an English and a French faction; Angus and the house of Douglas being at the head of the former, and Arran with the house of Hamilton leading the latter. When a parliament was held at Edinburgh in the year 1520, both parties appeared with bodies of armed followers, and had a regular conflict in the streets of the city, which, from the complete success <sup>30th April</sup> of the Douglas party, was called *Cleanse the Cause-<sup>1520.</sup> way*. Beaton, the uncle of the celebrated cardinal, was archbishop of Glasgow and lord chancellor. Connected with French families, he took the French side in the contest. When Gavin Douglas, the amiable Bishop of Dunkeld, celebrated as the translator of Virgil, went to beg that Beaton would prevent this contest, the chancellor protested that he was totally unable to do so, and to give solemnity to his protestation, laid his hand on his bosom. He struck it so forcibly, however, that the secret armour which he wore was heard to rattle; and Douglas wittily remarked, that his conscience clattered.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.—The return of Albany from his sojourn in France put an end to such contests for a time, and re-established the French interest. But while he required all the subservience of a despotic ruler, he failed in applying the influence he thus possessed to discipline and lead the national forces. He professed to invade England with one of the finest armies which had ever been assembled in Scotland; but he brought it back again without even attempting any achievement, though it was said that England was never more defenceless. Henry VIII., determined that Scotland should not have another opportunity of penetrating his dominions, sent a large army to the borders in the spring of 1523, under the Earl of Surrey. He penetrated to Jedburgh, where a small garrison occupied the strong tower of the abbey, which was besieged and taken. Along with the other religious houses on the border, it was subjected to pillage and outrage, and the country around was wasted and converted into a

desert. Albany, who had again visited France, returned with money and a small body of French troops. But these fastidious strangers were as ineffective and as offensive as they had been before.

4. SECOND ASCENDENCY OF THE DOUGLASES.—A partiality for an English rather than a French alliance was now gaining ground in Scotland, and it received an impulse from the final departure of the regent in 1524 to the more congenial soil of France. It was then declared that the king, who was in his thirteenth year, was competent to take the government into his own hands. The effect of this arrangement was to reinstate the Queen-dowager Margaret in power as his adviser, and the actual governor of the realm. She bore to her husband Angus a daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, whose existence is connected with remarkable events in Scottish history, since, by marrying the Earl of Lennox, she became the mother of Henry Darnley, who was thus allied to both the English and the Scottish royal families.

Angus had, by his marriage with Queen Margaret, restored the old influence of the Douglasses to his branch of the family, and, as he was partial to the English alliance, everything appeared to combine for a strong united government in the two divisions of the island. Yet the very person whose position as the King of England's sister would seem to give security to the alliance, mainly endangered it. Queen Margaret, by wilful perversity and indiscreet conduct, disturbed the government, alienated the people, and covered herself with obloquy. Angus was haughty and presumptuous, and appears to have been by no means faithful to the princess, who had infringed decorum to raise him to his elevated station. But she on her part, while endeavouring to obtain a divorce from him, seemed to seek it, not so much on account of his infidelity, as because she had formed a disreputable intrigue with young Henry Stuart.

ADVENTURES OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER.—She accomplished her divorce from Angus and her marriage with this new object of her affections. Becoming, as favourites so raised from obscurity generally are, domineering and insolent, Henry served his royal wife's cause by his audacity; for, when Beaton, the chancellor, refused to put the great seal to the abrogation of Albany's regency, her young husband took the seal by violence, compelled the other official persons to concur with him, and ratified the act. The queen raised this youth to the

office of high treasurer, and gave him the peerage and fair domain of Methven. She seemed, however, to have a fickleness about her husbands, nearly as remarkable as that of her brother about his wives, though she did not carry it out with the same sanguinary cruelty. She wished to be divorced from Henry Stuart, and even, as it was said, to rémarry with Angus. Her charge against Stuart was only that he had squandered her revenue,—a result which she had naturally to expect when in middle age she made such sacrifices both of character and fortune to a thoughtless youth.

The arrangement for the new divorce had nearly reached a successful termination, when the young king interposed, to his mother's great indignation, to save her from this new scandal.

5. A HIGHLAND HUNTING.—Until her death in 1540, she passed her days in recklessness and folly; and to the peculiarities of her restless life, we owe some curious notices of the manners of the times. Among others, there is a description of a great hunting-match or *finchel* in the forest of Atholl, to which the queen brought her son and the pope's nuncio. The Earl of Atholl prepared a sylvan palace for the reception of his illustrious guests. The site of it is still shown on a sandy peninsula, said to be artificial, which juts into the solitary lake called Loch Loch, under the shadow of the great mountain-range of Ben y Gloe, and a road leading from the inhabited strath of Atholl is supposed to have been constructed for the occasion.

Pitcottie describes the palace as a structure of fresh boughs wattled together and of immense size, since it was divided into four towers each three stories high. The floors were imbedded with flowers of various kinds, so "that no man knew whereon he trod, but as if it had been a garden." The walls were hung with the richest tapestries, and the edifice had the luxury then uncommon of glass windows. The bedrooms were fitted up with costly beds and naperies, and all was made as grand in that solitude as if the queen were in her own palace.

But the viands form perhaps the most inviting part of the affair. It is said that they had "all kinds of drink, as ale, beer, wine both white and claret, malvasie, muskatell, elegant hippocrass, and aquavitaë. Further, there were of meats, wheat bread, maize bread, ginge bread; with fleshies, beef and mutton, lamb, veal, and venison, goose, gryse (young

pigs), capon, cunning, crane, swan, pairtrick, plover, duck, drake, black cock, muirfowl, and capercaillies." The "stanks" too, as the historian calls the clear waters let out from the highland lake, were filled with "salmon, trouts, percheas, pikes, eels, and all other kinds of delicate fishes that could be gotten in fresh water, and were all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters (or bakers), excellent cooks and potingers, with confections and drugs for their disserts."

When the distinguished guests had spent three days at the sylvan palace, as they left it to return to the low country, they beheld it all in flames. The pope's nuncio expressing his surprise, the young king said, "It is the use of our highlandmen that, be they never so well lodged all the night, they will burn their house in the morning." This little incident conveys a notion of great wealth, splendour, and luxury. But it would be wrong to conclude that it proves the common people to have partaken in the abundance which it shows. On the contrary, it is generally where the common people are the poorest and most oppressed, that princes and nobles are able to give such extravagant entertainments.

POWER OF ANGUS.—It is necessary to go back from this incident in the history of Queen Margaret, to view the rise of the power of the Douglasses. Though deserted by her, who had been the foundation of his influence, Angus was the most powerful man in the kingdom. He took possession of the young king, and by his numerous feudal retinue closely guarded him against the approach of any other person. When, in the neighbourhood of Melrose, Scott of Buccleuch brought up a body of the borderers, professing that they were mustered for parade before the king, Angus attacked and routed them. Whenever any gathering took place, except under his own banner, he put it down as rebellion. He was more powerful than even the heads of the house of Douglas had been in the previous reigns; and it became a common saying, that no man throughout Scotland durst quarrel with a Douglas or a Douglas man, while they pillaged and insulted wherever they went without any fear of responsibility. Headed by the Earl of Lennox, a body of the nobles and their followers took up arms for the rescue both of themselves and of the young king from the tyranny and oppression of the Douglasses. It is said that, on this occasion, old Angus grasped the king tightly by the arm, and said, If your enemies had hold of you

the other side, we would tear you in two rather than let  
The Douglasses were again victorious, and Lennox was  
n.

i. FALL OF THE DOUGLASES.—The king now determined making his escape, and as the Douglasses believed him to be weak and bent only on his own amusement, he soon found an opportunity. In the month of June 1528, he was living at the retired palace of Falkland in Fifeshire. Angus and his brother George Douglas were both absent on private affairs of importance to themselves, and their uncle Archibald had disappeared for the moment. One only of the dreaded Douglas, Douglas of Parkhead, remained with his followers to act as the head jailor. A great hunting-match was appointed to take place, and the king retiring early to bed, as if to prepare himself for the fatigues of the morrow, by the connivance of two followers, whom he had persuaded to help him, he took his way to the stable and secured a horse. Thence he rode straight to Stirling Castle, a distance of nearly thirty miles, and was joyfully received within the fortification.

The Douglasses knew that they were now ruined unless they were strong enough to defend themselves. They proceeded to Stirling Castle in a body, but the king, terrified at their approach, proclaimed that it would be counted treason on a Douglas to approach within six miles of him. An act of forfeiture was passed against them, and troops were sent to seize their fortified places. Angus himself retired to a safe retreat among the border wilds, called Bellie, "not willing," as the family historian Godscroft says, "to shut himself up within walls of any strength, having ever in his mouth this maxim, which he had received from his predecessors, that it is better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep."

He, however, fortified his castle of Tantallon on the coast of East Lothian, the ruins of which are still, from their vast extent and strength, a striking proof of the power of the feudal system of the day, and justify Sir Walter Scott's description :

Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,  
And deem'd impregnable in war,  
On a projecting rock they rose,  
And round three sides the ocean flows ;  
The fourth did battled walls enclose,  
And double mounds and fosse.

For some time the castle defied all the efforts of the besiegers.



It has been said that the resistance could have been continued, but Douglas expected pardon from the king on capitulation. He was mistaken however; for the young monarch felt so lively a terror at the possibility of their recovering power, that the heads of the house abandoned Scotland, and found refuge with the court of Henry VIII.

That they were right in not trusting to the king's mercy was shown by the fate of their connexions. A few years after their retreat, the Lady Glammis, a sister of Angus, who had afforded him shelter when he was in hiding, was condemned to death, and suffered the horrible fate of being burned at the stake. The accusation brought against her was an attempt on the king's life by witchcraft and poison. At the same time, the Master of Forbes in Aberdeenshire, who was married to another sister of Douglas, was executed on a charge of designing to shoot the king as he passed through Aberdeen to hold a court of justice. It was believed that they both suffered because they were relations and allies of the Douglasses.

7. ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER.—The king, now freed from this powerful house, resolved to bring under subjection their allies and dependents. He proceeded to the southern forests with a considerable army, both to enjoy himself in the sport of hunting, and to enable him to do quick justice among the freebooters. They had come to consider their occupation as almost a justifiable and legal one; and the chiefs who lived by plunder were a sort of petty kings, preserving considerable state among their followers. One of them, celebrated in ballad poetry by the familiar title of John Armstrong, attired like a prince, and followed by twenty-four mounted gentlemen, came to meet the king, all unconscious of the fate awaiting him. James is reported to have turned round sullenly, saying, "What wants yon knave that a king should have?" He and his followers were seized and bound. He is said to have proudly observed that it would be a glorious day for King Harry of England to know that so dangerous an enemy was condemned to die, and he offered to keep up forty horsemen for the king's service. But James was obdurate; and Armstrong, along with Cockburn of Henderland, Scott of Tushielaw, and other border lairds, were hanged without trial or delay on the neighbouring trees. Though there were laws for the trial and condemnation of persons accused, they were on that occasion alike outraged by king and subject.

It was the boast, however, of King James, that he sup-

pressed crimes and private feuds, and rendered the country at once peaceful and safe. Dissatisfied with the efficiency of the committees of Parliament, who, as already mentioned, administered justice as the king's great feudal court, he resolved to create a permanent law-court, in imitation of the French parliaments. With this view, in 1532 he established the present Court of Session, on the model of the Parliament of Paris. One half of the court was to consist of churchmen, and the other of laymen. He carried the law into the remote highlands, making a royal progress with a fleet by the northern and western coast. Seeing that the chiefs had it in their power to raise their followers whenever they pleased, he adopted the plan of making these leaders give surety for the good behaviour of their dependents; and he sometimes claimed their relations as hostages for their conduct.

8. CHARACTER AND TASTES OF THE KING.—He encouraged arts and industry. Like his grandfather, he loved fine architecture, but he took care not to follow his inclinations in such a manner as to make the rude aristocracy despise him as effeminate. The classical style had just begun to be revived on the Continent, and to be mixed with the remains of the Gothic. In the reign of James V. they were combined in quaint and pleasing designs, which may be seen contrasted with earlier styles in some portions of the palaces of Stirling, Falkland, and Linlithgow.

Some peculiar habits of this king have attached a traditional popularity to his name. He was fond of disguising himself and wandering among his people, encountering adventures, and seeing actual life in a more natural and distinct form than that in which it is generally studied by princes. Some have attributed this practice to a deep design to observe for himself how the laws were administered; but others have thought, perhaps with more truth, that if he was not in search of vicious indulgences, he was at best gratifying a vain and adventurous disposition. The readers of the poem of "The Lady of the Lake" will remember what use Sir Walter Scott has made of this characteristic, which has been the source of many ballads and legends, describing the astonishment of worthy country people when they found that the guest who amused them with his humour and liveliness was the king himself.

His adventurous propensities increased a desire naturally felt by his sincere advisers, that he should be suitably mar-

ried, and an alliance was negotiated with Mary of Bourbon, a daughter of the Duke of Vendome. King James, whose romantic spirit was not content with a marriage negotiated by ambassadors, went over to France, and the conclusion of his journey was, that instead of the bride intended for him, he married the Princess Magdalen. The wedding was speedily followed by a royal funeral; for the princess was a tender plant, unable to bear the severe climate of Scotland, and she died in little more than a month after her landing at Leith.

MARY OF GUISE.—Within a year after her death, the king  
 June } brought another bride from France,—the celebrated  
 1538. } Mary of Guise, whose influence over the history of Scotland became so conspicuous. She belonged, indeed, to one of the most remarkable families of the age. The Guises were a younger branch of the sovereign house of Lorraine, who, settling in France, obtained extensive feudal domains there, and performed eminent services. Their leader Francis, the celebrated Balafre, had married a granddaughter of Charles XII. He was the idol of the French people; while his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was a sagacious statesman of great influence both in the church and the court. The two together exercised a power in France which sometimes counteracted that of the monarchy, and even threatened to overturn it.

9. BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION STRUGGLE.—The Guises might truly be said at that time to be the leaders by whom the opponents of the Reformation and the supporters of the supremacy of Rome were chiefly assisted in Western Europe, and it contributed, as we shall see, to deepen the character of the impending struggle that one of them should mount the throne of Scotland. It has been mentioned, that even in the reign of James I. an act of Parliament was passed against heretics. In the year 1528, the first sufferer in the cause of the Reformation, Patrick Hamilton, was put to death at St Andrews. Eleven years afterwards, in 1539, no fewer than seven persons were executed on the same charge of heresy,—the ecclesiastical courts condemning them, and the civil power carrying out the judgment. The king was perhaps ruled in these cruelties, as well as in other matters, by the advice of the chancellor Beaton, who was succeeded by his renowned nephew, David the cardinal. James, however, does not seem to have been very zealous against the Reformation, but rather to have wavered between its adoption and the support of the *old faith*.

Henry VIII. had, in the meantime, separated himself from his queen, Catherine of Aragon, married Anne Boleyn, and declared war against the pope for refusing to sanction his proceedings. There arose in England the curious conjunction, that at the time when the king entered upon this quarrel with the pope for purely selfish and unworthy reasons, the people of England were imbibing the doctrines of the Lutheran reformers, and were ready to join heartily in any movement to throw off the authority of the Church of Rome. Hence it seemed as if the change which the king so easily carried out, was caused entirely by his desire to gratify his own bad passions.

The King of Scots could not but think seriously of the effects of the rapid movements which he saw going on in his uncle's dominions. Henry, in his own peculiar and impatient manner, desired his nephew to co-operate in pulling down the power of the pope; but James hesitated, and if he was actuated by political motives only, it is easy to imagine that the reckless confiscations and cruelties which, under the auspices of his headstrong relative, ushered in so many changes in England, did not serve to remove his scruples. It would appear, however, that he wavered at one period, since he agreed to hold a conference on the subject with Henry at the town of York. When the time for the meeting came, however, he did not keep his appointment. He appears to have felt that if he met his uncle, and declined, even in the slightest particular, to do whatever he demanded, there would be a deadly quarrel between them.

Whether his neglect did not create a stronger animosity, may be a difficult question to decide; for Henry, after having waited for him in anger and impatience, returned in extreme wrath to London. He was resolved to take vengeance for the insult which he had suffered, and war was now again to break out between the kingdoms.

10. SOLWAY MOSS.—The banished Douglasses, following the example which had been so often set, joined the enemies of their country. In the first affair the Scots were successful. Under the Earl of Huntly, they defeated Sir Robert Bowes and the Douglasses at Haddon Rigg. The main army of England, however, under the Duke of Norfolk, who, as Earl of Surrey, had gained the battle of Flodden, ravaged the southern counties, and remained on the border ready to encounter the Scottish army if it came, or, failing its appearance, to invade the kingdom.

The country had now recovered from the carnage at Flodden. Nearly twenty years had made men of those who then were infants, and James was able to assemble a numerous army on the Burgh Muir, near the Links of Edinburgh. The leaders were, however, discontented with the war. Many of them were protestants at heart, and others had their causes of private animosity towards the king. Under these circumstances he did not attempt to lead his whole force southward. A detachment, however, of ten thousand men was despatched to attack the English border. When they arrived at Solway Moss, they quarrelled among themselves and fell into confusion. The cause of this is said to have been a very preposterous mistake. Oliver Sinclair, a favourite of the sovereign, who had received considerable court preferment, was extremely obnoxious to the aristocracy. It happened that he had the duty of reading to the troops the royal commission to Lord Maxwell as their general. When the offensive favourite was seen high above all others, reading this document, it was supposed that it was in his own favour, and in the general outcry against him and the consequent disturbance nothing could be heard.

Such is the account generally given of the cause of the confusion; but there is reason to believe that it was really occasioned by the leaders having protestant sympathies, and disliking the war. But however it may have been brought about, the English took advantage of it and charged vigorously; the Scottish army was dispersed, but it was remarked that many of the leaders, instead of either fighting or flying, thought fit to surrender themselves and become prisoners.

DEATH OF JAMES AND BIRTH OF QUEEN MARY.—James, in deep despondency, retired to Falkland Palace, where he sank under his calamities, until the prostration showed fatal symptoms. Two children, which had been born to him by Mary of Guise, had died nearly at the same time. When he was sinking into lethargy, news was brought that a daughter was born to him at Linlithgow. He is said to have muttered, in allusion to the female descent of the Stuarts from Bruce, "God's will be done: it came with a lass, and will go with a lass." He spoke no more. His death occurred on the 14th of December 1542.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What effect had the news of the battle of Flodden? Describe the position of the royal family. What marriage took place in it?
2. Who was selected for regent? Give an account of Albany. What

effect had his character and position on the prospects of Scotland? What occurred as to his French lieutenant?

3. Into what factions were the great families divided? Mention an occurrence between two bishops. What wars broke out?

4. How was the queen-dowager reinstated? In what manner was the influence of the house of Douglas re-established? What favourite was raised up?

5. Give some account of a great hunting-match. What is the inference from such displays as to the condition of the people? Tell how the Douglasses consolidated their power.

6. How did the king effect his escape from the Douglasses? What steps did they take? How were they repressed?

7. Give an account of the king's proceedings on the border. What tribunal did he establish? How did he act towards the highlands?

8. What art did the king cultivate, and how? Describe his peculiar practices. What was the position of his wife, Mary of Guise, with reference to Continental politics?

9. What events preceded the commencement of the Reformation? What was the position of England? How was Henry VIII. offended?

10. How did the war begin? What took place at Solway Moss? In what circumstances was Queen Mary born?

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## CHAPTER X.

### FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN WITH THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE, A. D. 1542—1558.

**An infant Queen—David Beaton—Project for Union with England—Interference of Henry VIII.—Fickleness of the Regent Arran—English Invasion—Anerum and Pinkie—Death of Henry VIII.—Arrangement with France—Removal of the Queen—Conclusion of the War—The Church and the Reformers—Martyrdom of Wishart—Slaughter of Beaton—Knox and the Castle of St Andrews—Mary of Guise Regent—Foreign Innovations—Preaching of Knox—Progress of the Reformation—The Lords of the Congregation—Duplicity of the Regent—Marriage of Queen Mary.**

1. **AN INFANT QUEEN.**—The principle that the crown of Scotland was hereditary had now been established by long practice. No one seriously disputed the succession of the infant girl, not a week old, although Arran, who, as head of the house of Hamilton, was the next heir, was asked by his brother, the Archbishop of Glasgow, how he could let a puling child stand between him and the throne. The question of immediate importance related to the person who should govern the realm during the queen's minority; and this could not be answered without deciding which of the predominant parties in opposition to each other was to rule. Ostensibly, the two parties were the Protestants, with England to back them, on

the one side ; and the adherents of the Church of Rome, with France as their abettor, on the other. But we shall see that events occurred which broke up this division, and occasioned other differences.

DAVID BEATON, the cardinal and archbishop of St Andrews, who had been prime minister at the close of the previous reign, claimed the regency, and produced a document, in favour of his right, under the late king's hand. This was maintained by his opponents to be a forgery. Whether it were genuine or not, however, was, at such a period, a matter of less consequence than the power of enforcing it ; and Kirkcaldy of Grange, a bold and adventurous leader, settled the difficulty by seizing on the cardinal and retaining him in safe custody. The function of regent was then assumed by the Earl of Arran, as being the next heir to the crown.

2. PROJECT FOR UNION WITH ENGLAND.—There was now every appearance that Scotland would become voluntarily united with England, both adopting the reformed religion ; and so it might have been, had the King of England been a moderate and wise man, instead of a self-willed and passionate tyrant. The proposal of Henry VIII. was, that the infant Queen of Scotland should be betrothed to his own son, afterwards Edward VI., who was a boy six years old at the time of Mary's birth. To aid him in such a measure, he had the concurrence of the friends of the Reformation, as well as of all who desired a union with England instead of a French alliance, and who saw that a lasting peace could be founded on the one, while the other only kept Scotland in perpetual conflict to serve the purposes of an alien power. Besides these motives, Henry found personal advocates of the cause of England among Scotsmen. He had kindly befriended the Douglasses ; and, in restoring them to their native land, he naturally secured their good-will, and would have obtained their hearty co-operation, if he had not afterwards deeply mortified and offended them. Indeed, there is little doubt that the Douglasses had at first agreed not only to promote the alliance, but to make Henry master of the Scottish fortresses, and to put the country at his mercy, under the pretence of giving him securities for the fulfilment of the national obligations.

The easy capture of so many Scottish prisoners at Solway Moss was accounted for by the suspicion that they had no great enmity to England ; and these views were confirmed, when Henry sent back to Scotland the Lords Cassillis, Glen-

cairn, Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with others prepossessed in favour of the English alliance. The party, thus formed, had an early meeting as the advisers of the governor, and arrangements were made by them for holding a parliament to ratify the alliance with England, and the betrothal of the queen.

The parliament assembled on the 12th of March 1543, when Arran was confirmed as governor of the kingdom and tutor to the young queen. They, at the same time, appointed a committee of noblemen, who should be the keepers and protectors of the queen's person, with instructions to support a court for her in the palace of Linlithgow, under the eye of her mother. The important arrangements with England were conducted with a general view to the national interests; and stipulations were framed, such as the wisdom of that age could devise, for preserving the independence of Scotland, if the two kingdoms should happen to be governed by one monarch. The country was to retain its nationality, with separate laws and courts of justice; and if there should be no issue of a marriage between Mary and the English prince, the next heir to the Scottish crown was to succeed without dispute. So restricted, the Estates heartily concurred in the proposed union, and sent ambassadors to arrange it with the English sovereign; but they could not, in the mean time, permit the royal infant to be removed from the kingdom.

3. INTERFERENCE OF HENRY VIII.—These arrangements were not of the kind which the impatient Henry desired. He had prevailed on some of the friends he had made among the Scottish nobles to support the project for putting their fortresses into his hands, and sending their young queen to England. If they had believed that they could with safety make such proposals to the Estates, jealousies and suspicions had since arisen which showed them that it would be unsafe to do so. The clergy looked on the seizure and imprisonment of the cardinal as a species of sacrilege; and many of them suspended their functions, treating the realm as interdicted. This ecclesiastical condemnation had not now the same terrifying effect as during the unquestioned supremacy of Rome; but there were still a large number who adhered to the old religion, and considered it as outraged in the person of the cardinal. At the same time, those who were not disposed deeply to feel it in a religious view, looked on it as an act done to please the King of England, and resented it on grounds of national jealousy.



A considerable body of the aristocracy and gentry, among whom were the Earls of Huntly, Moray, Bothwell, and Argyll, assembling at Perth, demanded the release of the cardinal, and avowed their opposition to the English influence; and Henry VIII. only fostered the national jealousy arising against him, by imperiously demanding that the cardinal should be sent to England to be dealt with by himself.

FICKLENESS OF THE REGENT ARRAN.—Beaton was in the meantime released: and then followed two events of great moment, one of which is among the mysteries of history. Mary of Guise did not sympathize with those who were appointed for the protection of her daughter. She was the ally of Beaton, and of the French and Romish influence; and probably, in connivance with her, the cardinal formed a plan for getting possession of the infant queen. By his activity and energy, he brought together so large a force that Mary's protectors dared not oppose them, and she and her mother were removed to Stirling Castle.

Whether Arran, the governor, seriously opposed this act may be questioned from what followed. After having adopted the reformed religion, and avowed his support of the English alliance, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Beaton to change his side in both matters, and give his aid to the views of himself and the queen-mother. This alteration has been ascribed to his weak and easy temper, and the influence over it of the cardinal's persuasive eloquence. But it is pretty clear, that these must have been, at least, greatly aided by some views which Arran had taken of his prospects, as next heir to the crown, should England and Scotland be united.

4. ENGLISH INVASION.—The self-willed Henry saw in these events treason against his authority. Instead of endeavouring to adjust the matter to his wishes, like one treating with the rulers of a free country, he declared that Scotland should be immediately punished, unless the young queen were sent to England, and the fortresses delivered into his hands. He had scarcely uttered the threat, when the Earl of Hertford appeared

1st May } in the Frith of Forth with an English fleet. The  
1544. } town of Leith was immediately attacked and burned;  
and when the commander was asked what demands he had come to make, he savagely answered, that he had come not as an ambassador to treat, but as an enemy to destroy. He might have more justly said, that he came not with fair warning like an enemy, but by surprise like a robber and assassin.

There were none to defend Edinburgh but its burgesses. They closed the gates, and, headed by the provost, for some time resisted the invaders who had come on them so unexpectedly. But finding the contest a vain one, they collected such valuable things as they could remove, and evacuated the city, which was not surrendered. For three days, it was pillaged and burned by the enemy; but they ineffectually attacked the castle, the capture of which might have imperilled the independence of the country.

At the same time, the border districts were cruelly ravaged by an army under Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Bryan Layton, wardens of the English marches. They burned and destroyed the small towns, and the towers or mansions of the gentry; and carried out the demolition of the ecclesiastical edifices, which had been partially accomplished in previous inroads. It was during this invasion that the beautiful abbey of Melrose, almost unmatched for the airy lightness and symmetry of its architecture, was converted into a ruin. The number of buildings destroyed on this occasion is hardly credible; nor is it easy to believe the statement, that the spoil of Jedburgh was carried into England by 500 horses.

**ANCRUM AND PINKIE.**—These outrages naturally roused the patriotic spirit even in those who were not averse to the English alliance. In the words of one of them, they were in favour of the match, but liked not the wooing. The Douglasses, and some of their friends who had been imprisoned, and were to be charged by the cardinal's party with high-treason for betraying the interests of Scotland, were released, that they might fight against the common enemy. Angus soon found sufficient reason for turning against his old benefactor; for Henry considering him a traitor for not having succeeded in bringing Scotland to adopt his terms, professed to make over a portion of the Douglas territories in Scotland, with some others, to the English wardens, as a reward for their zealous services. At Ancrum Moor an attack was made on the invaders, in which Douglas took part, and the Scots obtained a temporary triumph. This reverse only excited the fury of the English king, who sent an army of seventy thousand men, such as had not entered Scotland since the days of Bannockburn, to inflict a signal revenge.

Under Somerset, afterwards the Protector, this immense host passed along the eastern border. The governor collected an army still larger in name. It is stated to have been double

that of the English; but it is impossible that Scotland could have then contained a hundred and forty thousand men able to bear arms; and if the force was but equal to Somerset's, a large portion of it must have consisted of men or boys hastily levied and untrained. The Scots took up their position on the elevated ground above Musselburgh, called Pinkie Cleuch; and there was fought another great battle, disastrous to the

8th Sept. } Scottish arms. So long as the Scots kept their posi-  
1547. } tion, they resisted the attacks of the English with their long spears, and it even appeared that the invaders would be obliged to retreat. Part of the ill-disciplined host, however, chiefly highlanders and borderers, began to leave their ground; and it is supposed that they thought the time for plunder had arrived. The English had a powerful body of heavy armed cavalry, partly foreign, with which they charged the shifting ranks of the Scots, and entirely broke them. They were immediately routed, and a slaughter ensued, second only to that of Flodden.

5. DEATH OF HENRY VIII.—The calamities expected from such a catastrophe did not, however, follow it. Somerset occupied Haddington, and remained inactive. The approaching death of his impetuous master was, perhaps, the reason why he declined attempting a conquest of the country. Henry expired in the ensuing winter; and it may be said that the English hostility to Scotland died with him. There were enmities and jealousies between the two nations; and sometimes in the wars of opinion which followed, the one side consisted mainly of English, and the other of Scots. But there were no more projects to conquer Scotland for the increase of the power of an English king.

ARRANGEMENT WITH FRANCE.—The savage attacks which Henry had made on the country, however, left their fruits behind them. Among the English invaders there were Italian and Spanish mercenary soldiers, and the Scots looked to their old allies of France to give them help in their exigency. Nothing could better serve the purposes of Mary of Guise and the cardinal. Henry II. of France sent over supplies, and six thousand troops under the charge of a French general, Montalembert Sieur d'Essé. He came as an ambassador with an important proposal, which had doubtless been arranged beforehand by secret negotiations. It was that the young Queen of Scots should be affianced to the Dauphin of France, and that in the meantime she should be sent to that country

for protection and education. A parliament was held, at which these proposals were considered. Scotland was still reeking with the blood shed during the invasion of its ancient enemy, the English: many of the fortresses were in their hands, and the Estates, apparently without opposition, adopted the proposal of France; thus finally and effectually depriving England of the main object of King Henry's negotiations, threats, and violence.

6. REMOVAL OF THE QUEEN.—This arrangement was acted on so soon as a fleet arrived to convey the royal child to France. Mary, a girl of six years old, was taken from the quiet retreat of the island of Inch Mahome in the lake of Monteith, and removed to Dumbarton, to await the coming of the French fleet. Had the port of departure been on the east coast, she would almost certainly have been intercepted; but the acute advisers who had the planning of the expedition saw her leave the Frith of Clyde just as the English vessels doubled St Abb's Head to enter the Frith of Forth. Along with her other attendants, four young ladies of high birth bearing her Christian name, and called her four Marys, accompanied her. Perhaps an emigrant family of the poorest class, going to Australia or Canada, could alone, in this age, form a conception of the tedious discomfort and hardship which the young queen, with her aristocratic attendants, must have endured in such a voyage, made in one of the clumsy, incommodious vessels of the time,—little better than a large fishing-boat of the present day. It was undertaken in the dead of winter, and there was a long period of tedious coasting along the shore of Brittany, where yet they dared not land. Arriving at Morlaix, she moved in triumphant procession to the palace of St Germain: all prisoners, except those who were charged with murder, being released in the towns through which she passed, according to a common practice under Continental despotisms, which made princes appear the source of all power and mercy. Thus removed from the wild scenes of her own poor country, with its rude nobility, she was consigned to the most luxurious and elegant, but, at the same time, perhaps the most corrupt court in Europe.

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.—A tedious and irritating war was conducted in Scotland with the aid of the French allies. One stronghold after another was recovered from the English invaders. The old ferocious animosity of the peasantry was aroused: they refused quarter to their captives; and it is

said that when the French made prisoners, whom they spared according to the usages of war, the Scots would ransom or purchase them from the captors for the purpose of putting them to death. Losing by degrees whatever they had gained, and seeing no permanent advantage even in victories over the Scots, the government of England was glad of an excuse for withdrawing the invading army; and Scotland, now in intimate alliance with France, was united with that nation in a peace with England.

7. THE CHURCH AND THE REFORMERS.—In the meantime the progress of the Reformation was creating new parties and contests, and tending towards a great internal revolution. The intercourse with England, after the overthrow of the Romish Church there by Henry VIII., naturally led many Scotsmen to examine and receive the new doctrines; and the band of partisans whom he had established in Scotland, with Angus at their head, were looked upon as champions of the cause. At the same time it had another avenue even in the Scottish intercourse with France, where the Huguenots were industriously but secretly disseminating their principles.

It is not the object of such a work as this to make a comparison between the doctrines of different churches, or in any way deliver theological opinions. But it is necessary to mention the position occupied by the church in Scotland, politically and socially, as a feature of the general condition of the clergy. The most devoted members of the Church of Rome would not think of denying that it was exceedingly corrupt. We have seen how the earliest place of Christian worship in Scotland was probably made of wattles and reeds. Small, comfortable stone edifices succeeded; and many retired devotees lived in cells or caves of the rocks, practising asceticism and devotion. Even when stately edifices were built for cathedrals and monastic churches, the object of those who raised them was said to be rather the glory of God than the luxury or pomp of his ministers.

But in later times all this was changed. The rich treasures and extensive domains attached to the ecclesiastical endowments were enjoyed by the clergy as much as their estates were by the aristocracy. The very mendicant orders, established as it were for the purpose of securing a certain amount of poverty and humility within the church, were the most ambitious, ostentatious, and luxurious of all. Though the churchmen were not permitted to marry, yet some of them

were so rich and powerful, that the daughters of noble houses were encouraged to form illicit connexions with them, and their natural children obtained high offices both in the church and state.

The humble clergy who had no connexions were poor and hard worked; while those who possessed influence had one rich benefice added to another. As if even the largest estates in Scotland were not sufficient for their ambition, not a few of them enjoyed livings abroad, which gave them an interest in the politics of France or Italy rather than in the welfare of their native land. Thus Beaton, while he was Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of St Andrews, holding the abbacy of Arbroath and the parsonage of Campsie in his native country, was also Cardinal of St Stephen in Monte Coelio, and held the bishopric of Mirepoix in France. He was altogether a more powerful man than many a crowned prince.

At the time that the great wealth of the proud and haughty churchmen was an object of odium, there is no doubt that they themselves excited the envy of the impoverished barons. While some beheld with sincere affliction the corruptions of the church and the influence of mammon, there were others who desired to have the wealth and power transferred into their own hands. They had attentively observed how speedily and effectively Henry VIII. had swept away the ecclesiastical property of England; and while they saw that the aristocracy there had obtained no small share in the spoil, they knew that the crown had less authority in Scotland, and hoped that they might be able to procure a still greater proportion.

8. MARTYRDOM OF WISHART.—The powerful and cruel Beaton instituted severities which only served to fan the flame. Next to him in ecclesiastical dignity was John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran. He, too, indulged in persecution, and put to death two adherents of the Reformation, Adam Wallace, and afterwards Walter Mill. But he was of opinion, knowing the habits of his countrymen, that the church should in some measure reform herself, and meet the innovators by a partial concession. Beaton, however, with his foreign despotic principles, was determined to deal with the large and powerful body of protestants as if they were merely a small body of heretics whom he could crush with safety.

George Wishart had come from England in 1543 with the commissioners who had been negotiating the alliance with that

country, and having been received into their councils as an important coadjutor, he made a progress through Scotland, and preached to attentive audiences in several of the large towns. Thus a favourite of the people, and befriended by a considerable body of the aristocracy, he was not a person who could be easily attacked like any obscure schismatic; yet Beaton determined to punish him, and assert the supremacy of the church. His powerful friends would have protected him, but the cardinal managed, partly by stratagem, to get him conveyed to the castle of St Andrews, his own stronghold, where his wealth and power enabled him to live garrisoned like a feudal chief.

Wishart was tried by the ecclesiastical court, and found guilty of heresy. According to the laws, such as they were, he should have been delivered over to the civil court for punishment. The governor Arran, however, was known to recoil from the act to be perpetrated, and Beaton took it entirely on himself. Wishart was chained to a stake, and bundles of dry wood were piled around him and set on fire. An angry multitude looked on, while the guns of the castle were pointed towards the place of execution, the gunners standing by 2d March  
1545. } them with lighted matches, ready to fire if any popular outbreak should occur.

It has been said that during the execution the cardinal was looking out of a window in the castle as if exulting in the scene, when Wishart, gazing up at him, said: "He who in such state from that high place feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he there leaneth forth with pride." The events to be presently narrated made some people attribute prophetic powers to the dying martyr. Others, however, maintained that he knew, without the gift of prophecy, the fate that awaited Beaton, since he was intimate with those who afterwards put the cardinal to death. It has been discovered, indeed, that a person named Wishart was despatched by the Laird of Brunstain to negotiate with Henry VIII. for the death of Beaton; but in the absence of more distinct evidence, it is supposed that this may have been some other person of the same name.

9. MURDER OF BEATON.—However this may be, in little more than a year afterwards a number of desperate men resolved to attack Beaton in his stronghold. Norman Leslie, commonly called the Master of Rothes, arrived with five fol-

ay } lowers quietly at St Andrews one evening towards  
 } the end of May. There he was secretly joined by  
 Leslie, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and James Melville. They  
 at an ordinary inn, where their appearance excited no sus-  
 1. Beaton was strengthening the works of his castle, and  
 men were coming and going early in the morning. Four  
 conspirators passing in with the workmen like peaceable  
 ns on business, asked of the warder if his eminence were  
 awake, and created no suspicion; but when the warder  
 others coming up he suspected mischief, and attempted  
 se the drawbridge; he was, however, too late. The con-  
 sors despatched him without noise, and turning the work-  
 out, went through the castle awakening the attendants,  
 driving them one by one out of the gates.

ith nobody but their doomed victim in the fortress, they  
 d up the drawbridge, dropped the portcullis, and placed  
 tinel at the private entrance. The cardinal awakened at  
 and recognising in the first person he saw his greatest  
 y, John Leslie, rushed to the secret entrance, where he  
 l that his adversaries were before him. He was not long  
 in suspense; for, according to the horrid practice on such  
 ions, that all should make themselves alike guilty, each  
 ged a weapon into him; Melville, with a solemn adjur-  
 , dealing him the last stroke.

he dismissed workmen and attendants carried the news of  
 nce to the town, where a reaction seems to have taken  
 in the cardinal's favour, for the people flocked to the  
 demanding to speak with him. Norman Leslie stood  
 ie parapet jeering at them, and deriding them as un-  
 nable fools who wanted a dead man to speak; but he  
 them they should see him, and the bleeding body was  
 out to their gaze. In savage frolic, they afterwards  
 t in pickle, and kept it in a pit cut in the rock. The  
 knot of men who had perpetrated this desperate act  
 found themselves masters of a strong castle abundantly  
 ded both with necessaries and luxuries.

NOX AND THE CASTLE OF ST ANDREWS.—While the  
 sins continued to defend themselves in the castle, which  
 made a scene of excess and profligacy, they were joined  
 person of a different character—the celebrated John  
 c. This able man was born at Gifford, near Hadding-  
 n the year 1505. He took orders as a priest, and was  
 ing philosophy at St Andrews, where he had received



his education, when he heard and imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation. He became one of the warm supporters of Wishart. The two were together at Haddington just before Wishart was seized; and Knox says, in his history, that offering to accompany him on a visit to Ormeston, the martyr having a presentiment of his fate, said to him, "Nay, return to your bairns, and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice." He carried at that time a two-handed sword, as a sort of guard and attendant on his master, and unwillingly, as he says, he was compelled to give it up, and depart in another direction. After the events just related, he naturally felt his position very insecure, and sought refuge with the conspirators, who had fortified themselves in the cardinal's castle. Knox has not escaped suspicion and obloquy for joining such a band, especially as he spoke with unbecoming levity of the cardinal's death. But it was the fashion in that fierce age to exult over fallen enemies, and the castle was his only readily available protection. Shocked by the license and profanity in which the garrison indulged, he sternly rebuked them, and predicted that their corrupt life would not escape the punishment of God. And when they spoke of the strength of the walls, he said, "they shall be but egg-shells."

The means of attacking fortified places being then but imperfectly known in Scotland, the garrison defied every native effort made to seize the castle. At length, when a small party of foreign auxiliaries arrived, they astonished the defenders by the rapidity with which they reduced the fortress, firing on it from the tops of the steeples of St Andrews, and other commanding points. The garrison were sent as prisoners to France, where they were treated as criminals; and thus Knox for a considerable time occupied the position of an obscure convict under penal servitude, and labouring at the oar in a French galley.

10. MARY OF GUISE REGENT.—As the principles of the Reformation made progress, and there was no longer an insolent tyrant like Henry VIII. to arouse the national animosity against England, the French auxiliaries again became unpopular. This feeling was aggravated by important historical events. The queen-mother, now that Beaton was no more, desired to have the government in her own hands, distrusting the zeal and firmness of Arran. She had gone to France to consult on this and other matters with her ambitious brothers, and it was then arranged that the young queen should appoint the King

of France and her two uncles, the Guises, as her guardians,—an apparently natural and proper arrangement, and which they followed up by delegating their authority to the queen-mother. Though it would have been easy for Arran, if he had had sufficient strength of position and firmness of character, to laugh at such a settlement, he was nevertheless induced to submit, partly by threats and partly by the offer of wealth and honours, including a gift of the lordship of Chatelherault in 15th April } France. The transaction was solemnly ratified by 1564. } the parliament, and Mary of Guise became Regent of Scotland.

**FOREIGN INNOVATIONS.**—She began her rule very inauspiciously. Her own family had been among the chief instruments in teaching the kings of France how to govern through dependent statesmen, often foreign mercenaries, instead of people possessing local influence in the country. Their sister, acting on their advice, extended the system to Scotland, and much to the amazement and wrath of the nobles, she promoted Frenchmen to high offices; putting Monsieur de Rubay in possession of the great seals, and making his fellow-countryman, Villemore, comptroller, while D'Oysel became her confidential adviser.

It was proposed by these councillors, who naturally acted in Scotland as they would have done in France, that an inventory of the property of every person in the kingdom should be made; and that a tax should be imposed accordingly, to be applied in keeping up an armed force. In this way a standing army would be raised, such as the Continental despots employed. The Scottish barons had often been compelled, much against their will, to bring out their vassals to follow the royal banner, but they were themselves the commanders of the forces. This, however, was a proposal to tax them for the support of an army to be officered by the regent herself. Old Angus put the matter in a distinct light when he was required to let the castle of Tantallan be occupied by a French garrison. He answered, that he would dutifully place the fortress at her majesty's disposal, as regent of the kingdom, but he protested that he himself must be the governor, for no other person could keep it so well.

Three hundred of the barons assembled together in the church of Holyrood, to combine against the encroachment. They said, they had for centuries defended their native country, with the aid of their own vassals, and they would do so

yet, and that the monarch ought not to demand more. She was the Queen of Scots, as indicating that she was the leader and commander of the people, but she had no right to take their substance, and they would be loth to see the duty of protecting their country and their families handed over to foreign mercenaries. The regent had sufficient discretion to abandon the scheme, but the impression it created gave an impulse to the cause of the Reformation.

11. PREACHING OF KNOX.—After a tedious captivity, Knox regained his liberty in 1550. He went to England, where he became a coadjutor of Cranmer. Returning to the Continent, however, on the accession of Mary, he allied himself to the form of protestantism which had arisen in the south of France, under John Cauvin or Calvin, for whom Knox had acquired a strong attachment. In 1555 he returned to Scotland, with the stern determination, through all dangers and difficulties, to preach the doctrines which he had imbibed from Calvin as the true faith.

When he began his preaching he levelled his denunciations not only against the devotees of popery, but against those who, for the sake of peace or toleration, or to serve their own ambitious purposes, hesitated to strike against the system, though they admitted it to be unsound, and permitted it to remain triumphant by their sinful compliance. There were many of the landed gentry who, for the reasons already stated, were ready to overturn the church of Rome whenever it was safe to do so, and they watched with interest the labours of the zealous and straightforward reformer, in the expectation that such courageous zeal might create for them the proper opportunity. To prepare the way for this, an acute statesman, Maitland of Lethington, held a formal disputation with Knox on this question, and in the end admitted himself to have been confuted and convinced by the reformer's arguments.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—It was from this time that a body of the aristocracy, ever increasing in size, came to the formal conclusion that an absolute separation must be made from the church of Rome. Among the principal men who adopted this resolution, attended the preaching of Knox, and were subsequently known as the Lords of the Congregation, were Sir James Sandilands, called the Lord Saint John, as preceptor of the knights of that order; the Earl Marischal; the Earl of Glencairn; the Lord of Lorne, afterwards Earl of

Argyll, who had a principality rather than a domain in the western Highlands; and the Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V., whom we shall afterwards become acquainted with as the Regent Moray.

In the midst of this career Knox received an invitation to be a minister of the reformed church of Geneva, which Calvin had made so thoroughly the headquarters of his system, that it was called the Rome of protestantism. Knox accepted this offer, leaving unfinished the work which he had so effectually begun in his own country; and why he should have done so has ever been a mystery, for whatever charges have been made against him, timidity is not among them. During his absence he was cited to appear and answer before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and being formally condemned, was burnt in effigy.

The revolution had, however, gained sufficient head to go on alone. The protestant barons became more numerous, and other preachers, such as Douglas and Methven, addressed assemblies in various parts of the country. The regent being induced to issue a proclamation requiring some of them to appear before her, an armed band of gentry and their followers, chiefly from the west country, prepared to attend them. They began to congregate in Edinburgh before the arrival of their ministers. Here they had a meeting with the queen-regent, in which they told her that they and their poor tenants were oppressed by the greed and tyranny of the high churchmen; and that the people were denied the preachers of their choice. Chalmers of Cartgirth, their spokesman, a rough free-speaking country gentleman, concluded with a protestation, that he and those with him would endure it no longer. It is said, that when he had finished, all his companions, who had stood bareheaded during the conference, put on their steel caps and looked defiance.

The regent recalled the proclamation, and let the matter pass. Her two brothers were not so much bigots in religion as daring political schemers who could moderate their religious views when it suited their temporal objects, and she seems to have possessed a similar disposition. She temporized with the reformers; and when Archbishop Hamilton put to death the venerable Walter Mill, at St Andrews, an act which deepened the indignation of the Congregation, she professed that it did not meet with her approval.

12. THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.—Though Knox was

absent in person, he exhorted his friends by vehement letters; and his knowledge of the politics of France at that time, when so much was accomplished by leagues and combinations on either side, enabled him to advise the large protestant body how to consolidate their strength. In the winter of 1557 the first bond or covenant was prepared, and was signed not only by the eminent persons already mentioned, but by Lord Morton, by the venerated Erskine of Dunn, and many others. It bound them to defend and support the true word of God with their whole power and substance, standing by and assisting each other; it engaged them to protect those who were carrying on the good work, and abjured and denounced the idolatry and superstition of the Romish church. The persons thus combined received from that epoch their title of the Lords of the Congregation, and they passed a resolution for the use of the service-book adopted in England by Edward VI., the perusal in parish churches of lessons out of the Bible, and the private interpretation and use of the Scripture.

These things were enforced within their own territories by some of the lords of the congregation, who exercised a power of almost independent royal authority in their domains. A petition was presented to the queen-regent to sanction them; and she had the policy to give the application an attentive and considerate hearing, and profess to set it apart for consideration. In the year 1558, many of the prominent points of the doctrine and discipline advocated by the reformers were brought forward for discussion in parliament. Mary of Guise was enabled to effect a delay, and prevent a bitter contest. She created the impression that she had a leaning to the views of the congregation, and was desirous not to excite the wrath and vengeance of the clergy by a premature discussion. Those who have adopted very decided views on any point often believe that those who seem to lean towards them will finally come over to them. So the lords of the congregation thought, and having got the regent's promise to be tolerant towards them, they contented themselves with a general protestation of their principles.

DUPLICITY OF THE REGENT.—But the regent suddenly changed her policy. She joined in the rigorous exactions of the priesthood, issued a proclamation for general conformity, requiring all persons to hear mass, and summoned some of the reformed preachers to appear before her in parliament to answer for their conduct. When a deputation, consisting of

the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, represented to her that she was infringing her promise of toleration, she told them that "promises ought not to be urged against princes unless they can conveniently fulfil them." They, on their part, maintained that subjects might renounce their allegiance to sovereigns who did not keep faith with them. This conduct of the queen-regent was closely connected with a series of events happening in rapid succession. The first was the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the heir of the crown of France, on the 24th of April 1558. Taken along with the events which follow it, they form a series, a distinct remembrance of which is essential to a knowledge of this portion of Scottish history.

13. MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY.—This ceremony took place in the great cathedral of Notre Dame, before the king, the queen, the Guises proud to see another stone added to their fabric of ambition, and all the grandeur of royalty, of church and of state, which the richest country in Europe could produce. Careful stipulations were made for preserving the independence of Scotland. The eldest son of the marriage was to be king both of France and Scotland. If there were only daughters, the eldest was to be Queen of Scotland, with a sufficient dower, women being excluded from the throne of France by the Salic law. The dauphin was to have by courtesy, with the consent of his wife, the title of King of Scotland, during her lifetime, or, as it was termed, "the crown matrimonial."

On the limited nature of this concession there was no immediate dispute. The Scottish commissioners were required to do homage to the dauphin as King of Scotland, and to engage to invest him with the ensigns of royalty, but they refused, stating that no such article was in their instructions. This was part of a settled design by the Guises to have the dauphin continued as King of Scotland, in the case of Mary's death, though it is not known with what ultimate intentions in their own favour the plan was devised. It is certain, however, that before the marriage they induced Mary to draw up deeds, by which she nominated the dauphin her heir, in the kingdom of Scotland, should she die childless. As they probably knew that such a transfer would be quite ineffectual, another deed was obtained from her, seeming to connect it with a pecuniary obligation, and professing to assign the kingdom in security for large sums expended on her by the court of France.

The marriage had a further inauspicious commencement. When the commissioners, on their return, had reached Dieppe, one of them, the Bishop of Orkney, died suddenly. Within two days another, the Earl of Rothes, also died, and Cassillis and Fleming followed, after short intervals. It was natural that the Scottish people should suppose them to have been poisoned,—a practice too well known in the court of France, especially after the arrival of Mary of Medici, the queen-mother. Some suspicion perhaps still attends the remarkable coincidence, as no epidemic was then raging. Yet it is difficult to see what interest the Guises could have in such murders.

## EXERCISES.

1. Describe how the settled system of succession to the crown is shown in the accession of Queen Mary. What question was of immediate importance? Who was David Beaton?

2. What seemed likely to occur in reference to Scotland and England? What was the proposal of Henry VIII.? What assistance was he likely to have in Scotland? Mention what was done by the Scottish parliament of 1543.

3. How did Henry VIII. alienate his friends in Scotland? In what light was the imprisonment of Beaton viewed? Mention events of importance which followed Beaton's release.

4. How did Henry VIII. act? What took place in Edinburgh? What occurred on the border? How were the Douglasses induced to act? Give an account of the battle of Pinkie.

5. What effect had the death of Henry VIII. in Scotland? To what quarter did the Scots look for aid against England? Mention a proposal brought from France and adopted.

6. Give an account of the departure of the young queen. Narrate the manner of her reception in France. How were the English driven out of Scotland?

7. Describe the manner in which the progress of the Reformation was affecting parties in Scotland. What were the characteristics of the dignified clergy before the Reformation? What was the condition of the working clergy? How did the barons look on the questions arising?

8. Who were the leading Romish ecclesiastics, and how did they act? Who was George Wishart? Give an account of his fate.

9. Give an account of the attack on the castle of St Andrews, and the slaughter of Cardinal Beaton. Who found it necessary to join the garrison? How did John Knox deal with them? What was the fate of the garrison, and his?

10. Describe the arrangement for committing the regency to Mary of Guise. How did Arran act? What appointments disgusted the Scots? Give an account of a foreign project of taxation, and its reception.

11. What were Knox's proceedings before his return to Scotland? How did a body of the aristocracy and landed gentry rally round him? How did the Reformation continue to make progress?

12. How did Knox act? Who were called the Lords of the Congregation? How did the queen-regent receive their proposals? Describe the conduct on her part subjecting her to a charge of duplicity.

13. What event occurred in France of importance to Scotland? What stipulations for Scotland were made on the queen's marriage? Give an account of the projects of her relations.

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY TO HER RETURN TO  
SCOTLAND, A.D. 1558—1561.

*Influence of the Accession of Elizabeth—Return of Knox—The Regent and the Reformers—Attacks on the Ecclesiastical Edifices—The opposing Parties—Mary the Queen of France—The Contest—Treaty with England—The Regent's Death—Parliamentary Establishment of the Reformation—Appropriation of Church-lands—Book of Discipline—Mary and Elizabeth—Death of the King of France and Return of Queen Mary.*

1. ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.—Among the events exercising an influence on the Scottish people which immediately followed the marriage of their queen, one of the most important was the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, on the 17th of November 1558. This opened up a new world of projects and expectations, both to the protestant and Roman-catholic parties. The former, who knew her zeal in their cause, her firmness, and her talent, believed that she would be a tower of strength to them. But, on the other hand, as the church of Rome had always denied the legality of King Henry's divorce from his first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, was considered by them as illegitimate. In this view, Queen Mary, as a great-granddaughter of Henry VII., was the next heir. The protestants of England, of course, would hold by their protestant queen, without regarding such reasoning. But there was still a large body of adherents of the Romish church in England, and the despotic powers of the Continent would side with them. Thus was opened a grand vista of ambition to the Guises, who already virtually ruling in France, might rule in England and Scotland too when their niece was Queen of all Britain. To commence their operations without delay, they arranged that the young couple should call themselves King and Queen of France, 10th July } England, and Scotland, when by the death of  
1559. } Henry II., the husband of Mary succeeded to the throne of France. For this ostentatious assumption the unhappy Queen Mary subsequently paid a heavy penalty.

RETURN OF KNOX.—The arrival of John Knox in Edinburgh may be considered another event in the series, 2d May } since it was like the commander-in-chief going to  
1559. } join his army, and thus predicted immediate conflict. Queen



Elizabeth and the Congregation, on the one side, were at last to come to death-struggle with the court of France and the Roman-catholics, on the other. The opportunity was in one respect favourable to the reformers, since the conspiracy of Amboise had just occurred in France, where it took up the attention of the Guises, who were thus too much occupied in providing for their own defence to aid their sister in Scotland. The reasons why the queen-regent changed her policy and turned suddenly against the lords of the congregation, after appearing to incline to their views, will now be apparent. But she was thus deprived of the sinews of war when the conflict which she had provoked began.

2. THE REGENT AND THE REFORMERS.—The regent, as already mentioned, summoned the protestant ministers to appear to answer before a parliament to be held at Stirling. Knox resolved to be one of them, and the lords of the congregation proposing to accompany them in a formidable body, assembled for that purpose at Perth. Meanwhile, however, Erskine of Dun went alone to represent to the regent, that they were assembled not for violence, but as peaceful men, to bear testimony with their ministers to the truth, and assist them in their defence from the charges against them.

Mary of Guise listened to him with attention, and told him, that if the concourse would disperse, the ministers should remain unmolested, and the summons against them to appear before parliament would be discharged or dropped. Erskine acted on this, and the people dispersed, but the regent did not keep her promise. The summonses were continued, and the ministers not appearing, were outlawed, according to the practice of the times. In the circle in which she was brought up, such an act would have been deemed a piece of clever statecraft if it had been successful.

ATTACKS ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL EDIFICES.—It was far from being so, however. When news of the event reached Perth, Knox flew to the pulpit, and delivered to an excited audience one of his fiery sermons against idolatry and the abominations of the mass. This occurred in the church of  
 11th May }  
 1559. } St John's. The audience were highly excited; but it is said that the greater part of them had dispersed in silence when a priest, imprudently zealous for the ceremonies of the Romish worship, began to decorate an altar in the usual showy manner, and to open shrines which contained images. At first an altercation took place between the priest and a

youth; afterwards violence was used, and gradually a general disturbance arose, in which the church was gutted and its ornaments were destroyed. The multitude increasing in numbers and excitement, then passed to the monasteries of the Grey and Black Friars and the Carthusians, which they defaced, destroying or removing much valuable property.

This was but the commencement of a series of sermons delivered throughout Scotland, and generally followed by an attack on the monasteries or other religious edifices; and it came to a climax in St Andrews, where, in the midst of the pomp and power of the archiepiscopal see, Knox preached to an enthusiastic and crowded audience, and with the usual result.

Of the monastic buildings thus attacked in Perth, and the great Abbey of Scone, which suffered along with them, not a vestige now remains. In St Andrews, and other places, broken ruins only give some idea of the magnitude of the buildings before the Reformation. It has been usual to attribute all this destruction to Knox; and some admirers of ancient architecture have severely blamed him; while others have approved of the act as necessary, quoting a saying imputed to him, that when the nests are pulled down, the rooks will fly away. Inquirers who have lately directed their attention to the matter, however, question whether the reformer, and those who followed him on religious grounds, should be considered as the destroyers of these buildings. Whatever creates excitement among the people is sure to direct the uneducated and unprincipled to mischief. Knox himself complained of this reckless violence of "the rascal multitude" on these occasions. Whatever exhortations were given to destroy, seem to have been limited entirely to the shrines containing relics, and the other decorations deemed superstitious. Even if the mob went beyond these, it is improbable that they committed the devastation we now witness; nor could a mob very easily tear down a large and strong stone-building. Remote monasteries, such as Iona and Pluscardine, where there could be no mob, have fallen to ruin like the others; while Glasgow Cathedral, in the midst of a numerous and zealous population, has been well preserved. It is evident that the greater part of the destruction so justly lamented has been caused by time and neglect, rather than by such attacks.

3. THE OPPOSING PARTIES.—In the meantime, the lords of the congregation were increasing their followers until they formed a sort of army; while the regent, on her part, was

trusting to foreign troops and money, in addition to the partisans on whom she could depend in Scotland. When the lords of the congregation left Perth, she entered it with her foreign troops, exercising a severity which showed that the protestant party must be prepared for a deadly conflict, and could secure their own safety only by being victorious. They mustered at Perth, then a fortified town, and

25th June } took it after a short and vigorous siege. They  
1559. } thence marched by Stirling towards Edinburgh.

From the increasing unpopularity of the regent and her French forces, the army of the lords of the congregation grew so rapidly, that on their approach the defence of Edinburgh was abandoned, Mary of Guise and her followers retiring to Dunbar. The protestant party accordingly entered the metropolis in triumph on the 29th of June 1559. The queen-regent had still a formidable force at her command, and when she approached the capital, the lords of the congregation found it necessary to retire. Before they did so, however, they obtained some favourable stipulations for their party; and far from dispersing, were daily strengthening their hands. Among many other acquisitions, they obtained the secret aid of Maitland of Lethington, one of the most sagacious statesmen of the day, who was connected with the regent's government, but who saw that it was falling beneath the influence of the new power.

Both parties were in fact now looking for aid to other quarters. It was to be a question not only between the church of Rome and the Reformation, but between France and England. When the same monarch should be King of France and Scotland, England had everything to fear. But the Scots also had reason to tremble for their independence, since their country might come in the end to be a mere colony or appendage of France. Young Arran, the son of the Duke of Chatellerault, viewing the matter in this light, considered that the preponderance of France would materially diminish his own position as next heir to the crown. Hence he was won over as a partisan by the lords of the congregation.

Their great object, however, was to enlist Queen Elizabeth in their cause. She did not consider that to assist subjects in making war against their sovereign would afford a good example to her own people, and had besides a personal dislike to Knox. The reformer objected to female sovereigns, and wrote a pamphlet, called "The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women;"—the word "regiment"

meaning rule or government. Nor did Elizabeth like the aims of the reformers of Scotland, who appeared to be as inimical to the power of the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs as to that of the pope. All these considerations would have perhaps induced her to discountenance the lords of the congregation; but she knew the danger of allowing Scotland to fall into the hands of France.

4. **MARY THE QUEEN OF FRANCE.**—An incident which occurred in Paris rendered this danger more imminent. It was determined to proclaim Mary Queen of England as well as Scotland, in a solemn joust or tournament, attended by the court. The King of France, to give greater solemnity to the pageant, resolved to break a lance like the chivalrous knights of old, and challenged the count of Montgomery. The days had gone by when these tournaments were mortal combats; but casualties sometimes could not be avoided in the encounters of men heavily armed, and the king accidentally received a wound 10th July }  
1560. } in the eye of which he died. His son Francis succeeded to the throne, and his wife Mary Queen of Scots was thus the Queen of France. Her uncles the Guises would now have the means of carrying out their long contemplated plans for overthrowing the Reformation, and with it the throne of Elizabeth.

**THE CONTEST.**—The English queen had met with caution and duplicity the applications made to her for aid. She did not discourage the lords of the congregation; she even courted them for the sake of the resistance they offered to the encroachments of France, but would not directly aid or countenance them. In the month of August, however, when the news of what had occurred in France arrived, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent by the acute minister Cecil to Berwick to treat with the protestant party. He carried with him a sum of two thousand pounds,—a very trifling amount, according to modern notions of subsidies, but enough to afford material aid to a party in a country so poor as Scotland then was. It was the commencement of more ample and substantial assistance given from time to time; for it was the policy of Elizabeth and her adviser Cecil to see how the money already given was employed, before any more was advanced. The professed object of the aid was to resist the aggressions of France; and care was taken that Elizabeth should not appear as a supporter of the lords of the congregation, either in their religious views, or in their resistance to the royal authority.

These, in their turn, professed to act in the name of the queen, when fighting against her mother. Furnished with the sinews of war, they returned to Edinburgh in the autumn with a force of twelve thousand men, and became masters of the city. They then held a parliament or convention, and appointed a council for civil affairs, and another for matters of religion. This assemblage was not convened by royal authority, and was held contrary to the wishes and the denunciations of the queen-regent. It was contended, indeed, that the Estates of the realm were a power independent of the crown, who could meet and act without the royal permission. This doctrine has been repeatedly maintained in Scotland, and the countenance given to it shows how materially the ideas of the constitution differed from those entertained and practised in England. There, the parliament was in reality more free and powerful than in Scotland; but it was always held that the royal authority was necessary to the validity of its sittings.

In fact, so far was this parliament from acknowledging the regent's will as essential to its existence, that its main object was to deprive her of her power. They unanimously passed  
 22d October }  
 1569. } a vote, suspending her from her functions, in the  
 name of her daughter the queen, by whose authority they professed to act.

Before this occurred, a French force had arrived, and had fortified the town of Leith. The science of fortifying towns had made great progress in Italy and France; and the defences of this town, not naturally strong, were so increased that the efforts of the lords of the congregation to overcome them were utterly in vain. The French commander, D'Oysel, made an incursion into Fifeshire, where the protestant army hovered in his neighbourhood, not sufficiently strong to attack him. Farther succours were expected from France, and some large vessels were seen entering the Frith of Forth. They proved, however, to be not the expected auxiliaries, but an English fleet, under Admiral Winter. Still the Queen of England kept up her old policy of concealment; for Winter, though he certainly came to aid the lords of the congregation against the French, professed to be merely in search of pirates. The French troops found it necessary to retire to their fortress at Leith, and this they could only accomplish by a long march round by Stirling bridge, in which they were severely harassed by the forces of the congregation.

5. TREATY WITH ENGLAND.—Elizabeth at last thought it fit,

or found it necessary, to act more openly. At Berwick a formal treaty was negotiated between the Duke of Norfolk on the side of England, and Maitland of Lethington on that of Scotland. It provided that so long as Queen Mary was dutifully obeyed as sovereign of Scotland, the lords of the congregation should receive aid to expel the French force. On the other hand, the leaders of the Reformation bound themselves to hold the enemies of England as their own enemies,

January  
1560.

} to be ready to march for the defence of England if it should be invaded, and to repudiate any alliance with France in hostility with England. This treaty may be considered as the first distinct approach towards that community of purpose which ought ever to have naturally existed between England and Scotland. It was long after this before there arose a cordial feeling between the two countries; but the influence of France was now distinctly repudiated by the nation, and the French were no longer deemed the powerful and generous allies to whom the Scots looked for protection against the power of England. Besides the fleet, a considerable land-force now entered Scotland under the command of Lord Grey. Leith was more resolutely assailed than ever, but the French defences were too skilfully constructed to be carried.

**THE REGENT'S DEATH.**—In the midst of this conflict, however, the regent was evidently sinking into the grave. She conducted herself with solemn propriety in her dying moments, and expressed herself charitably and kindly to the leaders of the Reformation. She even received a visit from the protestant clergyman Willock; and while she professed to found her hope of salvation on the same atonement which he preached, when he spoke of the abomination of the mass as one of the relics of idolatry, she offered no more hostility than merely to remain silent. She died on the 10th of June 1560. To the last her character was a mystery, second only to that which envelops the history of her daughter; and it is difficult to say whether she really felt in charity with her enemies, or was only deceiving them while indulging a hope of recovery.

The French troops in Leith were now destitute of countenance. The greater number of the people and the nobility, backed by an English army, were against them, and they had no longer the sovereign's representative on their side. They were therefore glad to conclude a treaty and return home.

They supposed that they had only to treat for themselves personally, leaving the future sovereign of Scotland and the lords of the congregation to settle all questions with each other. But the sagacious Cecil, feeling the power he possessed over them, would not come to terms until they agreed that the lords of the congregation should be parties,—a stipulation in their favour providing an oblivion for all wrongs and injuries committed between the 6th of March 1558, and the 1st of August 1560. The French were compelled to accede to these conditions; and thus their country was committed to the protection of the protestants from any proceedings against them at the instance of the queen.

6. PARLIAMENTARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.—Immediately after the regent's death, another meeting of the parliament was held, which, like the previous assemblage, had no royal sanction. It was, however, perhaps the most important in its transactions of any parliament which had met in Scotland. A "Confession of Faith" drawn up by Knox and his friends was adopted as the standard of the protestant faith in Scotland.

Three acts followed it. By the first, the jurisdiction of the pope was abolished; by the second, all statutes passed in favour of the Romish hierarchy were repealed; by the third, all persons who administered mass, or partook in its administration, were liable to be punished with confiscation of goods for the first offence, with banishment for the second, and with death for the third. The inferior penalties were soon afterwards inflicted in several instances; but it does not appear that the penalty of death was suffered by any one, at least avowedly on religious grounds, until the year 1615.

Thus the parliament of 1560 carried the Reformation; and what was nominally the established religion had in one day ceased to be so. Protestant preachers had, however, as we have seen, been already planted in the places where the lords of the congregation had authority, and they had been gradually spreading an influence around them; so that the change was not so sudden as it would appear to be from the proceedings of the legislature.

7. APPROPRIATION OF CHURCH-LANDS.—Arrangements were made for the appropriation of the vast church-lands by the most influential of the nobility; and there is no doubt that the accessions they were thus obtaining were in many instances the principal cause of their zealous exertions. Knox

and his brethren attempted to obtain a declaration of the parliament that the wealth of the deposed hierarchy was to be reserved for religious purposes; but the rapacious nobles treated the proposal with scorn and derision.

In the words of John Knox,—“Some were licentious, some had greedily griped the possessions of the church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat.” It was a theme to which he often recurred, saying,—“Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, that they never had remorse of conscience, were neither yet intended to restore anything of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than those which had the greatest rents of the churches.”

The state of the church-lands was, at a subsequent period, investigated, and the government thought fit, or found it necessary, to secure a large portion of them to the most influential leaders. But, in the mean time, these leaders were making acquisitions of this valuable property, either by the strong hand, or by secret arrangements. The Romish priesthood, seeing the fall of their power at hand, were sometimes compelled, and sometimes bribed, to make over the church-lands to those who coveted them. Thus, sometimes a powerful chief would profess that he had a right to the property; and the abbot or prior, at the head of the religious house which enjoyed it, would be induced to admit the right to be well founded. If the religious community themselves had attempted to keep it, the law of the Reformation would at once have taken it from them; but it was a different affair when a warlike baron, with his armed followers, showed a title to the domain. In other instances, the religious houses, or dignified clergy, granted long leases of the estates for inadequate rents; and, in many other similar forms, it was found that powerful leaders turned out to be the owners of the wealth of popery, when the protestant church demanded it.

A chronicle of the day gives an account of the method in which the abbot of the beautiful abbey of Crossraguel, in Ayrshire, was compelled to grant some deeds demanded by the Earl of Cassillis. The earl one day kidnapped the abbot, and carried him to his own fortress. After having in vain tried



the effect of imprisonment, he desired a friendly conference with his captive, in a room containing an enormously large fire, which the earl facetiously said was prepared for roasting meat. The abbot knew at once what was meant by this savage jest, and used all forms of supplication ; but in vain. His clothes, or his upper skin, as his tormentor called them, being removed, he was basted with grease and set before the fire. Under the influence of a torture as great perhaps as the human frame can bear, he at length consented to sign the deeds ; but the earl was almost baffled by his own cruelty, for the poor abbot had scarcely sufficient muscular power remaining to write his name. Such is the story told by the chronicler ; and Sir Walter Scott was so much struck with it, that he avowedly made it the groundwork of an incident in his romance of *Ivanhoe*. Yet ravenous and unscrupulous as were the aristocracy of the day, it is to be hoped that the incident has derived its more revolting features from the imagination of the annalist.

8. BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.—The parliament, many of whose members were obtaining or expecting church-property, made no opposition to the Confession of Faith being adopted, as it only contained articles of belief. When the arrangement for the establishment of a new ecclesiastical system was laid before them, however, they resisted it, from the feeling, that by passing it they would in a manner be naming heirs to the property to which they hoped to succeed.

This plan of church-polity, called the First Book of Discipline, provided for the ordination and induction of the reformed clergy. It appointed that those admitted to the ministry should be first examined, by those already belonging to it, on the points of controversy between the Reformers and the church of Rome, and on all points of Christian doctrine. Having been thus ordained, it was necessary, to the minister's appointment to any specific charge, that he should be acceptable to the congregation in which he was to serve. An inferior degree of clergy, called readers, was created for the time being, and while there might be a difficulty in finding a sufficient number of learned divines for the ministry. They were not entitled to perform the higher functions of administering the sacraments or ordinances ; but they simply read the Scriptures, and the common-prayer or service book used at that time in the reformed churches in Scotland. The country was divided into ten dioceses or districts, each of which was to be under the inspection of a superintendent. These superin-

tendents, who were clergymen, were to visit and inspect the churches according to the regulations ; and it was distinctly laid down, that they were not to be " suffered to live idle as the bishops had done heretofore." Following up the old act for education, already referred to, the Book of Discipline provided that in every considerable parish there should be " a proper schoolmaster, able to teach at least the grammar and Latin tongue."

There were provisions for subjecting all persons, the great as well as the humble, to the discipline of the church, for the correction of all those minor defects in moral conduct which were not punishable directly by the criminal law. Perhaps this part of the Book of Discipline was not very agreeable to the profligate gentry of the day. But the portion which chiefly disgusted them was that in which the estates attached to the religious houses, and the other wealth of the church, were demanded, that they might be applied for the support of the reformed ministers ; and when it exceeded their needs, the remainder might be devoted to the maintenance of the poor and the cause of education.

They appealed, in the following terms, to those powerful barons who had adopted the cause of the Reformation: " With the grief of our hearts, we hear, that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the papists, requiring of them whatever before they paid to the church ; so that the papistical tyranny shall only be changed in the tyranny of the lord or of the laird. We dare not flatter your honours ; neither yet is it profitable that so we do. If you permit such cruelty to be used, neither shall you, who, by your authority, ought to gainstand such oppression, neither they that use the same, escape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the church to be restored to her liberty, that, in her restitution, the poor, who heretofore, by the cruel papists, have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation."

Such was the demand of the reformed church as it has been preserved in the works of John Knox. But it was by no means the design of the landowners to let the wealth, which had been taken from the Romish church, fall to its successor ; and while the parliament or convention accepted the Confession of Faith, and acceded to the doctrines of the Reformation by a large majority, it refused its sanction to the Book of Discipline.

9. MARY AND ELIZABETH.—After having transacted so much important business, including the treaty with England and the revolution of the ecclesiastical establishment, the Estates despatched Sir James Sandilands as a messenger to Queen Mary, while Maitland of Lethington, with the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, were sent as ambassadors to Elizabeth, recommending to her a marriage with the Earl of Arran, the nearest heir of the crown of Scotland, as a means of permanently uniting the two kingdoms. There is no doubt that the estates or parliament of Scotland were at this juncture much more under the influence of Elizabeth than that of their own queen. They had indeed established the Reformation, and transacted their other important business, without having received any authority from her to assemble, taking for granted, as it were, that she must approve of their proceedings.

But not only was it inconsistent with the despotic principles in which Mary was reared at the French court, that parliaments should of their own authority carry such important measures, but the measures themselves were directly in opposition to the views of her relatives for the suppression of the Reformation. Hence she did not conceal her displeasure in her meetings with Sandilands and the English ambassador Throgmorton.

Acting by the advice of her uncles the Guises, she refused to ratify the treaty with England. The condition of the reformed party in Scotland thus appeared to be ominous. Their queen, who was also queen of the powerful kingdom of France, and allied with the despotic governments of Europe, was against them. They might expect the country to be invaded by a great French army, with which the opponents of the Reformation among themselves, neither few nor powerless, would coalesce.

10. DEATH OF THE KING OF FRANCE AND RETURN OF QUEEN MARY.—But an event happened which dispelled at once all these dangers. On the 6th of December 1560, the young King of France died, and Mary, after a brief occupancy of the most brilliant position among the European monarchies, became again the queen, with limited powers, of a remote and turbulent people. Her powerful uncles at the same time lost their closest connexion with the crown of France, and were, so far as Scotland was concerned, merely foreign noblemen related to the queen, but possessed of no political influence in the country.

*The widowed queen, if she were to assume the government*

of her dominions, must now take them as she found them, all hope of influencing the state of Scotland by foreign force being lost. Another meeting of the Estates was held in Scotland, where it was arranged that the sagacious Moray, the queen's illegitimate brother, should go to France as her adviser. It was resolved to make her aware that her faith was no longer to be the established religion in Scotland, and that its public exercise would be a crime. The more zealous reformers maintained that the queen should be debarred from the celebration of her own worship in private, but Moray appears to have overruled this. Knox, in giving his account of the embassy, says, "He was plainly premonished, that if ever he condescended that she should have mass publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cause of God, and exposed the religion even to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have mass publicly, he affirmed that he would never consent; but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her? The danger was shown, and so he departed."

Moray being in close personal communication with the court of England, much suspicion has been thrown around his designs, and it has been asserted that it was his object to supersede his sister on the throne. When he found the young royal widow at Rheims, she had just been conversing with Leslie, the messenger of the Roman-catholics, who had been endeavouring to fortify her in the maintenance of the views of that party and of her French relations. In confidential communications, Moray fathomed her opinions and intentions; and though it has been said that he thus acted treacherously in endeavouring to secure the interests of his own friends, at whatever cost to his queen and sister, yet it is certain that he taught her to take a practical view of her position and submit to its necessities.

It was probably in consequence of his advice that Mary resolved to return to her dominions. She desired a safe conduct from Queen Elizabeth, but it was refused; and there is no doubt that her rival intended to kidnap her in any attempt she might make to reach Scotland. It was with deep grief that the young queen resolved to leave a country so thoroughly her own, and elegances and enjoyments for which she knew that in her own dominions she would look in vain. She embarked on the 14th, and, after an unusually quick passage, reached Leith on the 19th of August, in the year 1561.

## EXERCISES.

1. What views were entertained by Queen Mary's French relations on the accession of Queen Elizabeth? How did the people of England feel in the matter? Whose return to Scotland was an important event at this time?
2. Give an account of the breach of faith with which the regent was charged. What occurred at Perth? What buildings were attacked? Give an account of the recent views which have been entertained about the ruinous state of the ecclesiastical edifices in Scotland.
3. Under whom did an army begin to gather? Give a general view of their first proceedings. How were parties ranging themselves in reference to English and French politics? How was the position of Queen Elizabeth rendered perplexing?
4. Describe an incident occurring in Paris which was of great importance in Scotland. What policy was adopted by Queen Elizabeth? What effect had it on the lords of the congregation? Describe what occurred at Leith.
5. Give an account of the treaty with England. What was its effect on the relations between France and Scotland? What important death occurred? What effect had it on the arrangements with England and France?
6. What important document was adopted? What acts followed it?
7. How was a temptation held out to the influential nobility? What discussion had Knox with them? What sort of arrangements were made by the ecclesiastical holders of the lands? Mention an instance of the risks incurred by them if they failed to comply with certain demands.
8. What did the First Book of Discipline relate to? How was it disliked by the gentry?
9. What kind of intercourse was held between the Scottish parliament and Queen Elizabeth? How was the parliament situated towards their own queen? How did she act, and by what advice?
10. What event created a great change? What was the effect of her husband's death on Mary's position? Give an account of the visit made by her brother Moray. When did she return to Scotland?

## CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY TO THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE,  
A. D. 1561—1566.

Reception in Scotland—Religious Disputes—Northern War—Battle of Car-  
richie—Mary and Elizabeth—Henry Darnley—Moray and the Protestant  
Lords—Their Reception by Elizabeth—Marriage with Darnley—Mary and  
her Court—Chatelard—The Rizzios and the Nobility—David Rizzio's  
Murder—Romish and Protestant Divisions—Defeat of the Lords of the  
Congregation—Birth of the Prince.

1. RECEPTION IN SCOTLAND.—The Scottish populace exhibited extravagant joy on the arrival of the young queen. She felt all her prognostications, however, about the change of scenes too truly fulfilled, and shed tears when she saw the ragged ponies brought to bear her and her attendants to Holyrood.

That palace was then probably not a quarter of its present size, and many a farmer of our times has a more comfortable and luxurious house than the hereditary abode of the Queen of Scots. All night long a multitude of the inhabitants disturbed her rest by playing on their rude three-stringed fiddles,—a serenade the more annoying that Mary had a highly cultivated musical taste. She had studied, however, the art of making herself popular and agreeable, and declared that she liked the music of the honest citizens, and would fain have it repeated.

It was soon evident, however, that religious disputes would more seriously imbitter her existence. The reign of a sovereign of one religion, while the great majority of the subjects are of another, is a critical circumstance in all ages, but it was at that time fatal to tranquillity. Each party sought only absolute command, and toleration was a thing unthought of. In France, the Roman-catholics and the Huguenots were engaged in a death-struggle for supremacy, and the former consummated their victory in the horrible massacre of St Bartholomew.

2. RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.—THE QUEEN AND KNOX.—Among the aristocracy who had greatly increased their estates by the ecclesiastical revolution, there were some who were disposed to push the penal laws against the Romish priesthood to the utmost. Some of them spoke of putting to death those who celebrated mass. Knox occupied a conspicuous position in these disputes, and held repeated conferences with the queen. He was very zealous, and being little accustomed to conceal or mitigate his opinions, he has been accused of harshness in the way in which he expressed his sentiments before her. But he appears to have spoken with more gentleness than one possessed of so much influence at such a juncture might have been expected to use; and at all events he did not advocate the same desperate severities which many of the aristocracy, who doubtless were not so sincere as he was, would have readily followed up. Randolph, who held the office of ambassador from England, but who acted in some measure as a spy for Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, gave in his communications the following account of these unfortunate occurrences. "Mr Knox spoke last Tuesday to the queen: he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep: as well you know there will be some of that sex that will do as well for sager as for grief. She charged him with his book (meaning

the book already mentioned against the authority of queens), with his severe dealing with all men who disagree with him in opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons. Some things he spoke to her contentment in mitigating the rigour of his book; and in some things he pleased her very little—in special speaking against the mass, he declared the grievous plagues of God that had fallen upon all estates for committing of idolatry." In fact, Queen Mary and Knox could not very easily understand each other's position, for she had been brought up at a court where no subject was thought capable of questioning the will of royalty, and Knox, on the other hand, had been for a short period accustomed to carry everything triumphantly before him. It is clear, however, from his own account, that with all his resolute austerity he was in some measure subjected to the influence of youth, beauty, cleverness, and royal rank, for he was gentler towards her than those who had less zeal for religion. She seems to have taken well his fervent and kindly admonitions; and as the English ambassador says, "He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers."

While Knox administered his solemn admonitions, and the queen received them with courtesy, her religion was often treated in a far less solemn or excusable manner by the violent spirits who filled every public station about her. The ambassador thus describes her formal entry within the walls of the city of Edinburgh. "A pageant was performed in the delivery of the keys by a boy, who descended as it were from the clouds, giving her at the same time a bible and the book of psalms. The rest," says the ambassador, "were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters. There were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice. They were minded to have a priest burnt at the altar at the elevation: the Earl of Huntly stayed that pageant." The ambassador meant of course that the priest was to be burned in effigy.

3. NORTHERN WAR.—These disagreeable disputes were for some time superseded by political contests. Though the power of the lords of the isles had been long suppressed, there was still a great temptation for the leader who could exercise the chief influence over the highland tribes to rely upon their support. The Earl of Huntly, the descendant of a border baron

who had acquired territories in the north highlands, and in the low country of Aberdeenshire, was the person in whom this influence now centred. The queen's brother, who was then commonly called the Lord James, was made Earl of Mar; and it was understood, on grounds which afterwards turned out to be correct, that he was to receive the earldom of Moray. Huntly, being the most powerful neighbour to that territory, deemed himself the person entitled to the earldom, and was disposed to resent its bestowal on another. A separate cause of alienation has been spoken of, more in tradition than authentic history. This house had risen to so great a power that its lords kept a court, like the Douglases in the preceding century. They did not think themselves beneath a royal alliance; and it is said that Sir John Gordon, the second son of the earl, a young man of handsome mien and courteous manners, aspired to the queen's hand. Whether it was all these personal reasons, co-operating with their zeal for the church of Rome, that induced the house of Gordon to act as it did, cannot perhaps now be determined. It is certain that the queen made a progress northwards, and that Huntly desired that she would be his guest,—an invitation which she refused, and made her hasten to Inverness. Here there was a fortress on the eminence now occupied by the jail and academy. When the queen approached, to the astonishment of herself and her followers, admission was refused, the governor stating that he dared not suffer any one to enter without the permission of Huntly. On being threatened with a siege, however, the castle gates were yielded, and the poor governor was hanged for having too faithfully obeyed the presumptuous instructions of his feudal lord.

**BATTLE OF CORRICHIE.**—The house of Gordon having thus defied the sovereign, were obliged to fight out the quarrel. They raised a large body of supporters; but when the royal troops approached these gradually dwindled away, for there was now a much more general acknowledgment of the authority of the crown than there had been in the days of Donald of the Isles. The army of Huntly, reduced it is said to five hundred men, met that of the queen, about four or five times as large, in a hollow called Corrichie, on the bleak hill of Fare, about fifteen miles south-west of Aberdeen. It is said that Mary was present at the conflict. Huntly's forces were speedily dispersed, and he was himself slain, or, as it



was said, smothered in his armour. His second son, who had been the instigator of the rising, was executed at Aberdeen, and the large estates of the family were forfeited.

4. MARY AND ELIZABETH.—An important question for Scotland, and for England also, was now the marriage of the queen. On this and other points she had entered into friendly communications with Queen Elizabeth, which had at one time gone so far that they had arranged a social meeting, which incidental political events prevented the latter from attending. Mary showed great willingness to be led by the counsel and opinion of Elizabeth, who was a few years her elder, in the choice of a husband, and the English queen professed to offer her advice; but there was not much sincerity on either side. With all her ability and judgment, Elizabeth was subject to some weaknesses by no means of an amiable kind, among which jealousy was conspicuous. Though she was a learned woman, yet having been bred up in retirement in England, she had few of the gentler accomplishments in which Mary had obtained an eminent proficiency at the brilliant court of France. The two queens were remarkable contrasts in personal appearance. The marvellous beauty of Mary was renowned through all the civilized world, and it may indeed be said to have affected the political condition of Europe. Elizabeth heard, perpetually to her annoyance, the praises of this famous loveliness. She had herself a singularly unpleasant aspect: her features were harsh and unfeminine; her eyes and eyelashes light and inexpressive, and her complexion was sandy and opaque. She was by no means conscious of her personal defects: on the contrary she thought herself very lovely. Yet it is evident that she had many misgivings about her beauty, when she compared the almost forced compliments, which she extorted from her courtiers, with the voluntary homage paid to the charms of her rival.

5. HENRY DARNLEY.—The person whom Elizabeth recommended for a husband to Mary was the Earl of Leicester, her own subject, and the same handsome youth to whom it was generally believed that she was herself attached. The proposal appears to have been made more in jest than in earnest, and Mary and her advisers looked to another young nobleman attending the English court,—Henry Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox. Though properly a Scottish subject, Lennox had been an exile since the conflict which overthrew the house of Douglas, and he held large estates in

England. He was Mary's cousin, each being a grandchild of Queen Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. We have seen how that princess led an adventurous life after her husband's death, and became married to the Earl of Angus. A daughter of that marriage was the wife of Lennox, and the mother of Henry Darnley. The alliance was deemed important, from Darnley's close connexion with the English throne; and it might even have become a question whether, after Elizabeth's death without children, he or Mary was the nearer heir. According to modern views, it was of course the Queen of Scotland, since she, though a woman, represented the heir-male, her father, the son of Queen Margaret; while Darnley was the son of a daughter, and could of course inherit only his mother's title. But the distinction was not so well established at that period, and many sagacious men thought it a supremely wise stroke of policy that any such question should be set at rest by the union of the two representatives in marriage. Yet so short-sighted is human sagacity, that seldom has it fallen to the lot of the historian to record a union so direfully calamitous in its results.

Lennox obtained leave from Elizabeth to return to Scotland. His son Darnley followed him; and the queen and he met at Wemyss Castle, on the Fifeshire shore of the Frith of Forth. He was a tall and very handsome man, possessing some superficial accomplishments. The queen, though she seems to have had no deep feeling towards him, did not dislike him, and was content to give effect to the political reasons which pointed him out as a suitable husband. Queen Elizabeth, with her crooked policy, objected to the alliance, and ordered Lennox and his son to return; but their prospects in Scotland were too brilliant and tempting to be sacrificed by compliance.

6. MORAY AND THE PROTESTANT LORDS.—There was a large party in Scotland to whom the proposed union was very obnoxious. The Duke of Chatelherault thought it likely to interfere with the prospects of his own family. Moray was converted into a personal enemy by the arrogance of Darnley, who, even before his marriage, chafed at the influence which the queen's brother possessed, and imprudently showed a strong desire to curtail it. Moray saw plainly that Darnley was likely to deprive him of power, and thus a deep enmity was fostered between the two men. The protestant leader had at the same time solid public grounds of objection to the alliance

in which he had many sympathizers. Darnley was, like the queen, a Roman-catholic, and it was natural that those who even insisted that she should not be permitted the free exercise of her own religion, should object to a union which would strengthen the influence of the church of Rome in the palace. Their suspicions were indeed subsequently justified by Mary's accession to the league of Bayonne, in which France and Spain agreed to make war on protestantism. Meanwhile the Earl of Moray withdrew himself from the councils of the queen. Relying on assistance from England, along with Argyll, Glencairn, and Rothes, he assembled a body of men, and proclaimed resistance. They had, however, miscalculated the strength of their cause at that moment. A far more powerful body of armed men rallied round the queen, who, dressed in light armour, rode at their head. The forces of the protestant lords disappeared before her wherever she advanced; and the progress of her troops being a continued circuit following an enemy who ever evaded them as they approached, the affair was called "The Roundabout Raid." Moray and his friends at last took refuge in England, where they had to experience a curious illustration of the crooked policy of Elizabeth, who wished them to do Queen Mary as much mischief as they could, yet would not give them any open encouragement to resist their sovereign, deeming that she might thus set an example dangerous to her own power.

RECEPTION BY ELIZABETH.—The protestant lords, believing that they would be received as welcome friends, were to appear before her in court. She gave them a hint beforehand, that they would lose her countenance if they openly professed to have received aid and sympathy from her. It was her main object to clear her conduct in the eyes of foreign courts. She thus desired the French and Spanish ambassadors to be present at the interview, where she manifested extreme astonishment that men who had incurred her serious displeasure, by arming themselves against their lawful sovereign, should venture to appear before her. At this audience she drew from them an admission that they had acted without encouragement and support from her. Believing that they were thus earning her approval, they expected some sympathetic notice of good-will, possibly deprecating their self-condemnation. But Elizabeth professed stern indignation towards their disloyalty,—denounced them as traitors, and turned them ignominiously forth. The bewildered fugi-

tives could not recall their own confession, or assert that the queen really had given them her countenance, and they had no course but to submit. Elizabeth had gained her point in clearing herself in the eyes of the Continental governments. It was far from her wish to punish the protestant lords. Their principal offence consisted in their not having been successful in their rebellion; but still an opportunity might occur in which they could serve her, and they were permitted to remain hidden in England.

7. **MARRIAGE WITH DARNLEY.**—Meanwhile the ill-fated marriage was celebrated on the 29th of July 1565. It was scarcely solemnized before Darnley showed his despicable disposition. Utterly unfit to govern men, he yet arrogantly asserted over all the highest power and command. He was in fact an instance of one not possessed of sufficient strength of mind to bear his sudden elevation with equanimity and judgment. He became almost insane with pride and vanity, exacting the humblest homage of a subject even from his own father. He received the title of king; but it was in a limited shape, which raised his indignation,—that is, he was king as the consort of the queen, just as the wives of the previous kings had been queens; and on the death of his wife he would cease to hold the sovereignty. What he demanded was a right to be king in his own person, or what was then in technical language called “the crown matrimonial.” On constitutional grounds this could not be conceded; but all those who from a sense of duty or any other motive were supposed to have opposed him, incurred his deadly hatred.

While he fiercely demanded that he should be consulted on every public act, and should sign all documents along with the queen, he was so idle and fond of pleasure, that he would give no attention to the transaction of business. When the royal signatures were required to be given to important papers, he was absent at the chase, or on some less excusable pastime; and yet when arrangements were made to dispense with his presence, he broke into violent fits of passion. Like one raised from the very humblest ranks of society to unexpected affluence, his enjoyments were entirely sensual. His countenance, which had been handsome, though unmeaning, became bloated by dissipation. He indulged in perpetual drinking; and when he was intoxicated, he showed the brutality of his nature by personal abuse and violence towards the queen. It was not her disposition to submit to such conduct, either from

pliability of temper or a sense of domestic duty ; on the contrary, both her high spirit and her cultivated taste revolted against so disgusting an object, and any affection she ever entertained towards him was changed to dislike, if not to hatred. But it would not have been consistent with the high breeding which she had received in the court of France to expose her feelings to the world. She endeavoured, as far as possible, to hide her indignation and avoid scandal ; but not so well as to conceal from the vigilant observation of Queen Elizabeth's spies symptoms that some tragic events might be expected in Scotland.

8. MARY AND HER COURT.—Among the practices which she had derived from her foreign residence,—one which evidently coincided with her own temper and disposition,—was the occasional abandonment of the cares and pomps of royalty for social intercourse with persons whose wit or other pleasing accomplishments might entertain her. In the court of France the supremacy of royal rank was so firmly acknowledged, that it could be set aside or resumed at pleasure. Mary was partial to such relaxations, and frequently retired to the country to enjoy them. On one remarkable occasion we find her giving a dinner to some of her most familiar companions at an inn in Trarent, and after it she went forth with all the guests to have a romping match at archery : this occurred at the most tragic crisis of her career.

On another occasion we find her at St Andrews living with her maids and a small choice party in a citizen's house. Here she was followed by Randolph the English ambassador, who desired to transact important business with her, and has left an amusing account of the reception he met with. He presented his packet, which she read without remark. "The next day," he says, "she passed wholly in mirth, and would not, as she said openly, 'be otherwise than quiet and merry.' Her grace lodged in a merchant's house. In her train were very few, and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that for the time I did tarry I should dine and sup with her. Your majesty was oftentimes drunken unto by her at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her grace Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter to her that which last I received in command from your majesty by Mr Secretary's letter, &c. I had no sooner spoken these words but she saith, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you

to be merry, and see how like a burgess's wife I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your grave and great matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great ambassade until the queen come thither; for I assure you you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is gone. You see neither cloth of state, nor such appearance that you may think that there is a queen here; yet I would not that you should think that I am she at St Andrews that I was in Edinburgh.' "

CHATELAR.—But out of her seemingly innocent recreations the saddest events followed; while, whether justly or not, they served to compromise her character with the Scottish people. Among the queen's foreign attendants there was a youth named Chatelar, who possessed some accomplishments, and who could entertain the queen by performing on musical instruments and reciting his own poetry. Excited by the favourable notice he received, he put himself in the position of a hero of romance, who is beloved by a princess, and professed an insane passion for the queen. However she may have rebuked him, it seems certain that he was so little discouraged as to be found hidden in her bed-room. Though this was a high offence, it was deemed more prudent to dismiss him with an admonition than to attract public notice by his punishment. On his repeating the offence, however, he was tried, convicted, and executed. He met his fate like a knight-errant of old, who encounters all calamities, even to death itself, in the service of the lady of his love, and said on the scaffold, "Farewell to the most beautiful and most cruel of queens."

Had it not been for the other remarkable events of Mary's history, this incident would only have been viewed as an affair with a madman,—such as any one might, without culpableness or choice, be at any time involved in. The queen's acquaintance with another follower created still more tragic results, and holds a larger place in history.

9. THE RIZZIOS AND THE NOBILITY.—Two Italians of the name of Rizzio had come to Scotland, either when Queen Mary arrived or soon afterwards. It is difficult to discover whether they were merely servants, or were men highly educated and of superior rank in their own country; for the fact that they possessed any accomplishments was enough to make the Scottish nobility of that day treat them as persons of servile

condition. They were named Joseph and David. The former lapsed into insignificance like the other ornamental attendants of courts, but David had abilities which made him useful to the queen and offensive to others. He appears to have been the only person whom she could easily employ as a secretary or assistant when she desired to use the French language, which might be said to be her own. There was abundance of intercourse at that time between learned men in Scotland with France and other parts of the Continent, but it was generally conducted in Latin. This was so familiar to the Scottish men of letters that they used it not only more readily than French, but for literary purposes more generally than their own language; and hence Scotland was then distinguished by a cluster of writers in Latin, at the head of whom stood the illustrious George Buchanan.

These scholars, however, even if they could have performed the services required by Queen Mary, were chiefly of the protestant party, and had little connexion with the court. She had many correspondents in France, and it was of importance to her to have some one who could assist in communicating with them. David Rizzio was the only suitable person for the task. He could not well discharge such a duty without being intrusted with secrets, and being treated as a confidant. He had made advances so far before the marriage, that he was courted by Darnley as a person who might have much influence on his prospects as an aspirant to the queen's hand. Indeed, among some of the later revelations about Mary, a narrative addressed to Duke Cosmo of Medici has been quoted, in which it is said that she was secretly married to Darnley before the public ceremony, and that the solemnization took place in Rizzio's apartments; but there is no reason to believe this piece of contemporary gossip, though it shows the confidential position which the favourite was understood to hold.

Before the marriage, it was often said, that the manner in which Darnley courted this foreigner was an insult to the Scottish nobility; but afterwards he readily joined them in condemning the influence which he exercised. He found that the queen still required Rizzio's services, and believed that she could not help being guided by his advice, to which he indeed attributed the defeat of his projects to obtain the crown matrimonial. It probably aggravated his growing dislike to be conscious that his highly accomplished wife might find re-

sources in Rizzio's company which he himself could not supply. Sometimes, after a protracted absence, when he returned to the royal apartments in a state of mingled exhaustion and intoxication, he would probably find "Signior Davie," as the Italian was called, seated there in conversation with the queen, or meet him passing away through the passage. Though Rizzio is said to have been a little deformed man of signally unprepossessing exterior, yet Darnley professed to be jealous of him; and on some occasions acting towards his wife as only those who are sunk in the lowest depths of depravity would do at the present day, he reproached her with her familiarity, as if it entitled him to indulge in the grossest suspicions against her virtue.

10. DAVID'S MURDER.—Darnley could not have proposed anything more agreeable to his dissolute friends than to make away with the foreigner. It occurred to the rough and unscrupulous nobles that they should seize and slay him in public, after the example of the fate of the architect Cochrane, who was hanged on the bridge of Lauder. But a baser feeling had entered into the degraded heart of Darnley. He desired the vengeance to be so executed that it should be an outrage of the most dreadful kind against the queen herself. It was not enough to slay the paltry foreigner—the slaughter must be committed in her presence. On the day before the perpetration of the murder, he appeared to be on familiar terms with the little Italian, and played a game at tennis with him. The conspirators were present, and proposed to finish the affair with their daggers; but Darnley insisted, according to their account, that the tragedy should be performed in the queen's apartments. She was seated, at about seven o'clock  
 9th March } in the evening, in her private cabinet, after having  
 1566. } supped. There were with her the Countess of Argyll and Lord Robert Stuart; and Rizzio was, according to some accounts, seated at table, though, as others maintained, he was standing apart, taking supper at a sideboard. There was a secret passage, very narrow, and only admitting one person at a time, from Darnley's apartments to the queen's. He suddenly appeared through the opening, and though he was intoxicated and excited, these characteristics were too common to create any suspicion. He seated himself beside the queen, and put his arm round her—a seeming act of affection, but in reality to keep her from interfering, for he knew that she had a high spirit, and was not to be trifled with.



That Darnley should appear through his own private entrance was natural, but he was immediately followed by another person, whose presence was not to be expected in the queen's apartments, and whose character and appearance boded no good. This was the Lord Ruthven, who himself has left an account of the tragedy. He looked like a spectre, for he was understood to be suffering from a mortal disease, from which he was daily expected to die. But Mary saw that with his ghastly face and tottering frame he was armed to the teeth. She spoke about his illness, wondering how he was able thus to appear, and asking what had caused him to come there at the risk of his life. He fell into a chair, and told her that nothing would be done to herself; only, as he said, "we must have out yonder villain Davie." Mary's attendants wished to put an end to what seemed the action of a man in the delirium of disease, but Ruthven said sternly, "Let no man lay hands on me." In the meantime, George Douglas and others of the conspirators one by one entered the room by the private door. Rizzio drew the dagger or small dress-sword which he wore for ceremony, but could not use it, and clung to the queen's dress, craving her protection. While she, who seemed to be the least disturbed among all the occupants of the chamber, spoke to her husband with such lofty scorn that he appeared to be shaken in his purpose. Lord Morton, with a band of followers, ascended the ordinary stairs, and the room was immediately filled with turbulent and armed men.

It is difficult to draw up a distinct account of such occurrences even when they are witnessed by persons not engaged in them; and the accounts of Rizzio's murder are derived from those who were deeply implicated, so that the order of events cannot be known with complete precision. It is said, that as they were dragging the wretched man away from the queen, George Douglas, called the Postulate of Angus, stabbed him over her shoulder, so that the blood spurted over her. The murder, however, was completed after he was dragged from the queen's chamber. His body was pierced by forty or fifty dagger thrusts, and tossed in ignominy down the palace stairs. Leaving it there, the grim Ruthven returned to the queen's apartment, and sitting down on a coffer or chest, complained of exhaustion, and called for liquor. While a French valet served him with wine, the queen, who as yet only knew of the violence which had been committed in her own presence,

spoke in the bitterness of her heart of retaliation and punishment. She was about to become a mother, and alluding to the claims which she should have had on their forbearance and kindness, even had she been an individual of a humbler rank, she said, that if either she or her child suffered, the foreign sovereigns to whom she was related would avenge her wrongs. Ruthven replied that these foreign sovereigns were too great to think of meddling with so poor a man as he was; and leaving the queen's presence, went to join a convivial party in which the conspirators had assembled for the purpose of making up a few old feuds which had existed among them.

In the meantime they took distrust of Darnley, and set a guard round the palace, keeping both him and the queen in bondage. It is difficult to conjecture what was then passing in Mary's heart: she at all events professed affection for her husband, and so far gained his attention, as to increase the suspicion of the other conspirators, who feared that he might sacrifice them. The citizens of Edinburgh, roused by the rumours that some murderous act was going on in the palace, assembled in arms, and, with the provost at their head, proceeded to Holyrood and demanded to see their queen. She was not permitted to speak with them, Ruthven telling her, as she herself afterwards said, that if she endeavoured to press forward "they would cut her in collops and throw her over the wall." Darnley, however, opened the window, and told the citizens that nothing was amiss—that the queen and he were merry, and it was their duty to disperse.

11. THE ROMISH AND PROTESTANT DIVISIONS.—Some political events, which occurred at the same time as the murder of Rizzio, are supposed to have been connected with it; but to what extent is matter of much dispute. There had arrived, not long after the queen's marriage, two French nobles, whose ostensible object it was to invest Darnley with the order of St Michael—a chivalrous decoration, which, like the order of the garter in England, was sent by the French monarchs to foreign potentates. The real object of these strangers, however, was to induce the sovereign of Scotland to join the league of France, Austria, and Spain, for the suppression of the Reformation. They brought with them recommendations from Mary's foreign relations and the Scottish Roman-catholics abroad. After some delay, Queen Mary agreed to join them.

This reopened the conflict between the Romish and the Re-

formed party, and the first symptom of it was the assumption of harsh measures against Moray and the lords of the congregation, then exiles in England. A parliament was called for the purpose of putting them on their trial, and they were summoned to surrender themselves. They were conscious of the greatness of their danger, and, like all men in that violent age, resolved to defend themselves, and if possible overthrow their enemies. It was usual, as we have seen, for those who at that time undertook dangerous enterprises, to sign bonds or obligations to stand by each other. Such documents bound them closely together, and if the act to be done involved any criminality, none could accuse the others without rendering it certain that they in their turn would implicate him. Such a document, denominated a bond of manrent, was signed by Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, Ochiltree, and others of the lords of the congregation. But the remarkable feature in it was, that while it professed to be an obligation for protestant objects, and to uphold every reform founded on the Word of God, it included Darnley, who was a vehement enemy to the cause of the Reformation, promising to support him in all his just quarrels, and invest him with the crown matrimonial. The key to this inconsistency is to be found in their common enmity to Rizzio. The lords of the congregation feared him as the soul of the Romish league in Scotland, while Darnley hated him from other causes. To have Darnley thus on their side was an object of great moment to the protestant lords. That one of their ends was the destruction of Rizzio is clear enough. It is not to be inferred, however, that those who framed this political combination were aware of the plan for his assassination, which was the object of a separate bond among those who undertook the bloody work. The intention of the party was probably to seize and prosecute him, and it is very likely that they would have pursued him to death. They were neither indignant nor grieved, however, when they found that their fiercer coadjutors had so speedily settled the difficulty. The whole party, however, were naturally charged with it; and Knox himself does not appear to think the charge a heavy one, since the manner in which he treats the event in his history is as follows: "This David Rizzio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs the king set aside, but also his equipage and train did surpass

the king's ; and 'at the parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be chancellor, which made the lords conspire against him. They made a bond to stand to the religion and liberties of the country, and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain David Rizzio—the king and his father subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's father without his signet." Such was the influence of the barbarous spirit of the times, that none could meddle in state-affairs without giving some countenance to deeds which in the present age are stigmatized as atrocious crimes. The inferior conspirators were executed for the murder—the higher all escaped.

12. DEFEAT OF THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.—One of the services which Darnley engaged to perform was to adjourn the parliament before which the lords were to be tried. This adjournment, without the queen's intervention, would not, it is true, be legal, but it would have a sufficiently legal appearance to justify them in acting on it. Accordingly they entered Edinburgh, and protested that having come to the parliament by which they were to be tried, and finding neither accusers nor judges, they were to be deemed innocent. They took instant possession of the capital ; and it is hard to say to what extremities they might have proceeded in the plenitude of their power, had not the escape of Mary, accompanied by Darnley, in whom they saw they could not trust, disconcerted their plans.

Having laid aside their enmity for a time, they made their common arrangements with such secrecy and success, that they escaped at night, and, riding hard, appeared at early dawn at the gate of Dunbar Castle, to the astonishment of the governor. The southern nobility and their vassals, appealed to in the name of the queen, rallied round her, and she was soon at the head of an army of 8000 men. With this force the protestant party could not cope, but they had not to meet it. Mary seems to have felt that for her to attempt to carry out the objects of the Romish league was now hopeless, and she had no objection to a partial reconciliation with her brother and the protestant leaders. She promised them remission of their offences, if they would repudiate Morton, Ruthven, and the others who had committed so deadly an outrage in her presence. To this arrangement they agreed, and the assassins sought refuge in England. Mary complained that Queen Elizabeth countenanced their living at Newcastle ; upon which they

were ordered to leave that place, but permitted to reside still nearer to Scotland.

**BIRTH OF THE PRINCE.**—Such was the state of the country when the young prince, destined to reign over the three kingdoms, was born in Edinburgh Castle. For a short time the queen's illness seemed to isolate her from the stormy and tragic history in which she was involved, but she recovered only to enter on still darker scenes.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Give an account of Mary's reception in Scotland. What threatened to involve her in more serious troubles?
2. What views did some of the aristocracy entertain? What was the position of Knox? What kind of scenes took place between the queen and him? How was she treated by others?
3. Give an account of the power of the Gordons in the north. What expedition took place? Give the name and locality of the place where a battle was fought.
4. What question of importance arose? Give an account of the distinguishing peculiarities of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.
5. Whom did Elizabeth recommend as a husband to Mary? Name the person to whom Mary and her friends looked, and state his connexion with the two thrones.
6. Who objected to the marriage in Scotland? What objections were there on the ground of ecclesiastical politics? What transactions were called The Roundabout Raid? Give an account of the reception of Moray and his friends by Elizabeth.
7. When did the marriage with Darnley take place? What kind of character did he reveal? How did he act as to public business?
8. Give an account of some characteristics of the queen. What was Chatelar's conduct and fate? What made the incident be viewed with dislike?
9. Who were the Rizzios? How did the nobility treat them? What was the nature of David Rizzio's services?
10. What intentions were entertained as to the foreigner? What course did Darnley determine to take? Describe the circumstances of the slaughter.
11. What strangers came to Edinburgh, and with what object? What document was prepared? Describe the condition of matters which gave the protestant lords a common cause with Darnley.
12. How did the lords of the congregation act in Edinburgh? What incident disconcerted their arrangements? What was the result of the dispute? In what year was born the prince who afterwards reigned over the three kingdoms?

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO HER ABDICATION,  
A.D. 1566—1567.

**Mary and her Husband—Projects about Darnley—Rise of Bothwell—Murder of Darnley—Results of the Murder—The Queen and Bothwell—The Marriage—National Reaction—The subsequent History of Bothwell—The Abdication.**

1. **MARY AND HER HUSBAND.**—For some time after the murder of Rizzio, the queen and her ill-assorted husband acted as we have seen together, and appeared to be cordially reconciled. How far this reconciliation was ever real is matter of conjecture; but it is certain that it was of very brief duration.

Darnley, who had again isolated himself after his temporary conjunction with the protestant lords, persisted in his old habits; and, as it was distinctly perceived that he had incurred the dislike of the queen, he lost all the influence he had ever possessed, and was treated with a disregard which excited him to farther follies. The birth of the prince, which might have been supposed to elevate his position as the father of the heir to the British empire, only served to expose his fall, for Mary taunted him in the public audiences with the injuries she had endured from him; and though she professed to forgive them, plainly intimated, that they were not to be forgotten, and rankled deeply in her heart.

**THE PROJECTS ABOUT DARNLEY.**—It was now an understood matter among all who were desirous of influence in the Scottish court, that it would be well if the queen were in some fitting manner relieved of the burden of such a husband. A divorce was spoken of, but it was considered that there were material objections to such a measure; and Mary seems to have been afraid, that if she raised to a high pitch the malignant enmity of a man like Darnley, he would find means of avenging himself. She seems indeed to have been afraid that he would endeavour to make out the young prince to be the offspring of a criminal attachment. On his part, Darnley appears to have been alarmed for his life; and he proposed at one time to flee from Scotland, but was persuaded to abandon the attempt. He might have felt good reason for his

apprehensions, for, since no legitimate way of relieving the queen presented itself, the statesmen of the day discussed very coolly the necessity of putting him to death, and even spoke of it to Queen Mary herself. Thus, Maitland of Lethington said to her in her distress, "Madam, mind you not we are here of the principal of your grace's nobility and council, and shall we not find the mean well to make your majesty quit of him without prejudice of your son; and, albeit, that my lord of Moray, here present, be little less scrupulous for a protestant nor your grace is for a papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold your doings and say nothing thereto." Mary is reported to have answered to these significant hints, that she begged they would do nothing to bring a stain upon her honour: "Better," she subjoined, "permit the matter to remain in the state it is, abiding till God in his goodness put remedy thereto, than that ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." The crafty statesman showed that he looked on these cautions as mere words of course, which had more assent than refusal, for he said: "Madam, let us guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved of by parliament."

2. THE RISE OF BOTHWELL.—Meanwhile there was one who had a peculiar interest in the removal of Darnley, and was at the same time the cause of the extreme intensity which distinguished Mary's dislike of her husband. This was James Hepburn, better known by his title of Earl of Bothwell, a man of dark and atrocious character, but possessed of a courage and an audacity which appear to have fascinated the queen, although it is said that his personal appearance was unseemly, and corresponded too distinctly with the vileness of his conduct. Occupying the solitary castle of Hermitage, he was a great leader of border freebooters; and among other successful predations, he had managed to seize a remittance of money sent by Queen Elizabeth to the lords of the congregation. He was well known as one ready to undertake any unscrupulous act, and had been forced for some time to leave the country on a charge of plotting the assassination of Moray.

His daring and fierce devotedness to her service seems to have first impressed Mary, as a contrast to the ungallant poltroonery of her husband. He was almost the only one who appeared boldly on her side on the night of Rizzio's murder. He materially aided her to escape, and supplied a

considerable portion of the army with which she made her triumphant return. On Moray's restoration to his sister's good graces, he and Bothwell were required to shake hands and become reconciled. It was remarked, that as Mary recovered after the birth of her son, Bothwell received one mark after another of royal approval. He obtained ample grants from the forfeited church-lands; and even Maitland of Lethington found some difficulty in keeping his own 'spoil from being transferred to the new favourite, on whom was conferred among other offices, the important one of warden of the marches, with the governorship of Dunbar Castle.

The queen was now governed by his advice; and it might have been considered that these favours merely showed her consciousness of the merit of his public services; but an incident occurred which made people attribute them to another and warmer feeling. In one of his conflicts with the border  
 17th October } freebooters, Bothwell was severely wounded. On  
 1566. } the day after this happened, Queen Mary was in  
 Jedburgh holding a court of justiciary. When she heard of the event, she took horse and rode straight to Bothwell's castle of Hermitage, where she spent some hours with him and returned. There were then no roads among the border mountains; the people were wild and lawless, and the distance the queen rode in a day was fifty miles. From fatigue of body, probably aided by excitement of mind, this remarkable incident was followed by a burning fever, in the recovery from which the queen showed extreme despondency and distraction, exclaiming from time to time that she wished herself dead.

3. MURDER OF DARNLEY.—Those who had made up their minds to get rid of Darnley now signed a bond of manrent, as the assassins of Rizzio had done. It was prepared by an acute lawyer, James Balfour, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, and contained a clause, that "for sae meikle as it was thought expedient and maist profitable for the common wealth, by the hail nobility and lords under subscribed, that sic ane fool or proud tyrant should not reign or bear rule over them; and that for divers causes therefore they all had concluded that he should be put off by one way or another; and whosoever should take the deed in hand, or do it, they should defend and fortify it as themselves, for it should be every one of their own, reckoned and holden done by themselves."



An opportunity for putting the design in execution soon arrived. A splendid ceremony took place at the christening of the young prince, at which it was remarked that Darnley seemed more than ever an object of neglect. He soon afterwards went to his father in Glasgow, where he caught the small-pox. The queen sent her physician to attend him, but did not think it necessary to go herself, though she had had the disease, and there was no occasion to fear infection. Suddenly, however, her manner changed. On the 24th of January she went to Glasgow, and appearing to treat him with great kindness and concern, removed him to Edinburgh as a convalescent.

He was not taken to the palace, but was lodged in a house called the Kirk of Field, beyond the city wall, and on the site at present occupied by the University of Edinburgh. The reason assigned for this selection was the advantage of securing pure air. But it was remarked that the house was quite open and undefended; and it gives one a poor notion either of its safety or its comforts, to know that the back-door was taken off to furnish a lid for a vat or tub in which the invalid took a warm bath.

Mary was a frequent visitor at the house, and sometimes slept in it. She went there in great state on the evening of Sunday the 9th of February; and those who were examined about the incidents of that eventful night remembered "the queen's grace" passing through the Blackfriars Wynd with lighted torches to visit her husband. She came as if she intended to remain; but suddenly she changed her mind, remembering that she had promised on that night to attend a mask in honour of the marriage of Bastiat, a favourite French valet, in the palace. She departed accordingly; and it was remarked that the conspirators must have known her intention to leave, otherwise the operations with which they were busy in the lower floor, before she left the house, would have been fatal to her as well as her husband.

Bastiat was a man extremely clever in devising masques and entertainments, and there was probably much amusement at his wedding-feast. But ere the revelry was over, a loud report shook the whole city. It came from the direction of the Kirk of Field; and those who hastened thither found the solitary dwelling in ruins, and Darnley and his page lying dead in the garden. There were no marks of fire on the bodies, and it was believed that they had been strangled and carried from the house before it was blown up.

Among those whom subsequent inquiry showed to have been actively engaged in the crime were Bothwell, Cockburn of Ormiston, Archibald Douglas and John Spence two clergymen, Hay of Tallo, John Hepburn of Bolton a connexion of Bothwell's, a foreigner called French Paris, and several subordinates. It appeared that early in the evening some bags of gunpowder were conveyed in trunks from Bothwell's chambers in Holyrood to the Kirk of Field, and piled in the lower floor, the assistants requiring to have candles for their work; and on their way buying "six halfpenny candles frae Geordie Burns' wife in the Cowgate." Bothwell superintended the deposit of the powder. He seems to have afterwards appeared at Bastiat's wedding; for before he went out for the final deed, he took off, as French Paris described, "a pair of black velvet hose trussed with silver, and a doublet of satin of the same manner; and put on another pair of black hose and a doublet of canvass." They passed down a turnpike or winding stair, and along the back wall of the queen's garden. There they were challenged by a sentinel, to whom they returned answer that they were friends of my Lord Bothwell, a name which had become all-influential. After the deed was accomplished he returned, took a deep draught to compose his nerves, and went to bed, where, in half-an-hour afterwards, he pretended to awake in surprise at the entrance of those who came to tell of the tragedy.

4. RESULTS OF THE MURDER.—These things were discovered after long investigation. At first, all was horror and amazement throughout Edinburgh; but speedily people began to point to Bothwell as the guilty man. Voices were heard in the streets in the dead of night denouncing him; and placards were over and over again posted upon the walls to the same effect. Justice seemed paralyzed, and the populace were enraged that no inquiry was made after the assassins. The active energy which generally characterized Mary's conduct seemed entirely gone. Old Lennox, Darnley's father, wrote to her, demanding that steps should be taken for the prosecution of those who were suspected of murdering his son. She answered as if she had never heard of any one being so accused, and spoke of it as a mystery very difficult to be unravelled; and when Bothwell was fairly pointed at, she still exhibited a vague reluctance to consider him really culpable.

THE QUEEN AND BOTHWELL.—At length it was suddenly announced that Bothwell would be brought to trial. Lennox

complained that only fifteen days were allowed for the preparation for the trial, after the resolution to conduct it was adopted. Even at the present day it sometimes takes many months to unravel all the threads connected with some great criminal case, and in that age it might take a still longer period. The government gave no aid in following up the inquiry, and Lennox was left to prepare and prove the charge as he best could. When Bothwell came to the bar, the most influential men of the time, including Morton and Lethington, attended him as his supporters, and a whole army of his followers surrounded the court-room. Lennox protested against the trial going on under such circumstances, and did not even attempt to bring forward his accusation. This was precisely the desired result. It appeared as if the charge was so preposterous that the prosecutor himself abandoned it, and Bothwell was triumphantly acquitted.

He was now covered with new emoluments and honours, as an injured great man who had defeated his malevolent enemies. In a parliament, held two days after his trial, he appeared as the first subject of the realm, carrying the sceptre before the queen. The large gifts which had been conferred on him were here solemnly ratified. At the same time, as if in preparation for the high position to which he was about to aspire, he made a strong party for himself by obtaining important advantages for others. One portion of these consisted in a number of honours and gifts, chiefly from the ecclesiastical estates, bestowed on those of the nobles who were understood to be among his immediate supporters. At the same time he sought interest with the reformed party by furthering the acts for placing the Reformation on a securer basis, which were passed within the year; yet not so soon but that his power, and the queen's too, had passed away. A disposition was shown to deal severely with those who brought accusations against the favourite, and Lennox wisely fled to England.

Mary's infatuation was so palpable, and appeared so scandalous, that the people, ready to make every allowance for one who had been so popular, maintained that Bothwell employed witches, who had administered philtres and other love-charms to her. At length, he felt his prospects assuming so distinct an aspect, that he assembled the principal nobles at a tavern, where he laid before them a document, ready prepared, recommending the queen to accept him as her husband.

and binding themselves to support her choice. He stated to them that the arrangement was her majesty's wish, and professed to lay before them a paper under her hand confirming the assertion. The place was surrounded by armed men; and to the shame of those who were so assembled, they consented to sign the document, reserving, as people often do in such circumstances, an intention to discard it as extorted by force.

5. THE MARRIAGE.—Soon after this event, Mary paid a visit to her infant son at Stirling Castle. Erskine, the governor, would not permit a large body of her attendants to enter, apprehensive that the infatuated queen might remove the royal infant and place him in the power of Bothwell. On her return to Edinburgh, the earl, at the head of a thousand men, awaited her at the suburb of Fountainbridge. He laid his hand on the bridle of her horse, and, as if overpowered by a superior force, she permitted herself to be led away. Her escort, in vindicating themselves for not having defended her, stated that the abduction was a pretence, and they would only have incurred her displeasure, in addition to Bothwell's wrath, if they had attempted to interfere with the arrangement. She was conveyed to the Castle of Dunbar, where the public believed her to be a willing prisoner. After twelve days, Mary returned to Edinburgh, in solemn procession, with an unarmed escort. If she had retained any objections to a marriage with Bothwell, they were now removed. She publicly stated, that though displeased with him for subjecting her royal person to restraint, she not only forgave him, but, in consideration of his eminence and services, designed to accord him her hand. He was, in the mean time, raised to the rank of Duke of Orkney. An impediment, however, existed to his union, for his own wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly, being still alive, it was necessary to obtain a divorce. She was a Roman-catholic; and to make the process effective, either in her eyes or in those of the queen, it must be performed by the proper officer of the Romish hierarchy. The consistorial jurisdiction had, however, been abolished in 1560; but it had just been restored to Archbishop Hamilton, who employed it on this occasion: and the impediment being removed, the queen and Bothwell were married. The ceremony took place on 15th May 1567, little more than three months after Darnley's murder.

6. NATIONAL REACTION.—The national patience seemed now exhausted; and even Mary's best friends could do no other-

wise than look at all these astounding events with deep affliction. The tyrannical ferocity of her new husband first awakened her to a sense of the miseries of her condition : far from being grateful for the sacrifices she had made for him, he seemed only to think that the more she was censured by others, the more she was in his power, and accordingly treated her with harshness and brutality. She shed many a tear, and was often overcome with deep melancholy ; yet she professed still to love him, and declared that she would follow him, if need be, in a peasant's gown.

In the meantime, a military force assembled under the leadership of the lords of the congregation, who avowed that they had taken up arms to deliver the queen from her thralldom to Bothwell, and protect the young prince from falling into his hands. Mary and Bothwell were then living in Borthwick Castle, a huge square tower, twelve miles from Edinburgh, whence they escaped with difficulty and fled to the stronger fortress of Dunbar. Mary's name was still sufficient to gather round her a considerable force, and, with an army about equal in number, she met that of the confederates at Carberry, an elevated ridge near Musselburgh. They asserted that they were not making war on the queen but on Bothwell, whom they implored her to leave. As her own troops gradually deserted her, Bothwell saw that, for his own safety, he must depart ; and bidding her farewell never to meet her again, he rode to Dunbar.

7. THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF BOTHWELL forms a fitting termination to such a career. Knowing his position at Dunbar to be insecure, he wandered northwards, and reached the Orkneys, where, as the place was remote and inaccessible, and he was viceroy of the islands, holding the rank of Duke of Orkney, he probably considered himself secure. Ships of war were, however, sent in pursuit of him, and finding two Norwegian vessels at Unst, in Shetland, he set sail with them for Norway. One, if not both, of these vessels belonged to a celebrated pirate, David Wodt. When Bothwell approached Norway, he was not unnaturally supposed to be a pirate also, and was seized and conveyed to Bergen, to suffer the penalty of the law. There he stated, to the great astonishment of his captors, that he was the husband of the Queen of Scotland, and that he had come to solicit the services of the northern powers to aid her against her rebellious subjects, intimating, at the same time, that he was authorized

to treat for the restoration of Orkney and Shetland to Norway, should the proper aid be given. The tale receiving confirmation, Bothwell was removed to Copenhagen, where he was entertained suitably to his rank, but strongly guarded. At length news arrived accounting for the singular circumstances in which he was found ; for Moray's emissaries charged him with treason and murder, and requested that he might be given up. The court of Denmark, however, thought that there would be an advantage in keeping him, because, if Mary returned to power, they could insist on retaining Bothwell until the proposal to restore the Orkney and Shetland Isles was fulfilled. In the meanwhile he was kept a prisoner during Mary's calamities ; and as there was nothing either in his character or power to command respect, he was immured in the distant dungeons of Druchsholm, in Zealand, where his death was so obscure that its exact date is not known.

8. THE ABDICATION.—In the meantime Mary, on her return to the metropolis, was doomed to feel, in their full bitterness, the effects of her conduct. The confederates had on their banner a picture of the slain Darnley, with the infant prince kneeling above it, and calling to Heaven for vengeance. This was borne in front of her as she entered the town ; and when she looked from the window of her lodging, for she was not taken to the palace, it was still before her. She thought to resume her old command, but found that it was entirely gone, and that she was in reality a prisoner.

Wherever she turned her eyes, she beheld nothing but menace and insult. In fact, the events of the past two years had worked a revolution in the feelings of the people of Scotland, which induced them to look on royalty as a system supported by selfishness and crime. They had been lending but a partial ear to the objections of the reformers against the popery of the queen and her relations ; but now they saw, or imagined they saw, so much wickedness in the court, that they readily believed not only popery, but monarchy itself, to be an evil. The manner in which this feeling arose had no doubt a long influence on the thoughts and opinions of the people : in the meantime it entirely prevented them from raising a hand to protect the queen. Though the Hamiltons and some other friends stood by her, the confederate lords were determined that she should never more wield the sceptre, feeling that their own safety depended on her being powerless. She

24th July } was at last compelled to consent to an abdication in  
1567. } favour of her infant son; and it was arranged that he should be under the guardianship of her illegitimate brother Moray, who should also be the governor of the kingdom. As a place of secure confinement, she was sent to a lonely castle in the middle of Loch Leven, where the Lady Douglas, the mother of Moray, was mistress, and consequently jailer.

## EXERCISES.

1. What is known of the feelings of the queen and Darnley to each other? What projects were entertained about Darnley? How far are they known to have been spoken of to the queen, and how did she act?
2. Give an account of Bothwell. What was remarked after the birth of the prince? Mention an incident which created suspicions.
3. What arrangement was entered into for the murder of Darnley? Narrate the events connected with the queen and him immediately preceding the event. Where was the Kirk of Field? Give an account of such matters as are known in connexion with the murder.
4. What was the immediate effect of this event? What accusations were made? Describe the manner in which Bothwell was brought to trial. How was he treated afterwards?
5. Mention an incident which occurred at a suburb of Edinburgh. What opinion was entertained about it? In what circumstances did the marriage with Bothwell take place?
6. What was the queen's position after the marriage? What occurred at Carberry?
7. In what direction did Bothwell escape? How was he treated by the court of Denmark?
8. How was the queen treated on her return? What was the effect of the events of her reign on national opinion? What arrangement was made?

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE ABDICATION TO THE DEATH OF MARY,  
A. D. 1567—1587.

The Regency—Mary's Escape—Refuge in England—The Inquiry into the Charges against Mary—The State of the Question—Moray's Government—Lennox and Kirkcaldy of Grange—Civil War—Regency of Mar—Regency of Morton—Fate of Grange—Morton and the Church—Lennox and Arran—Fall and Death of Morton—Raid of Ruthven—Ascendency of Arran—The King and the Clergy—Episcopacy and Royal Ascendency—The Associated Lords and the Fall of Arran—Queen Mary in England—Her Fate.

1. THE REGENCY.—On the 29th of July 1567, the young prince was crowned; and soon afterwards Moray was proclaimed

regent. In this capacity he sat in the important parliament of 1567, when the Reformation and the new ecclesiastical system received their final sanction ; for the measures which were carried by the Estates in 1560 had not obtained the royal assent, and it was questioned whether they could be regarded as laws. It was now, too, that for the first time something substantial was done for the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment. In 1561, an arrangement had been made for letting the reformed clergy have a third of the benefices of the old priesthood ; but the hands into which the property had come were not to be easily loosened ; and the act stating that the composition had remained unpaid, made provision for its subsequent enforcement. The protestants had now the government on their own side, and their principles were laid on a clear foundation.

**MARY'S ESCAPE.**—Ere the new government had been, however, a year in existence, Mary made it feel that she was not powerless. She found an opportunity to exert her most potent weapon,—the seductive charms with which nature had endowed her. By these means she secured a champion in George Douglas, the brother of Douglas of Lochleven. Though he was suspected and dismissed, his devotion made him still attempt the chivalrous task of releasing the imprisoned beauty ; and at length a follower, named William Douglas, or the Little Douglas, cleverly managed to get the queen into a boat at night, and to cut off pursuit by locking the castle gate, the key of which he flung into the lake. Headed by the Hamiltons, a considerable party now gathered round Mary ; many, in her recent misfortunes, forgetting the crimes of which they had believed her guilty.

Moray and the protestant lords, however, rapidly prepared to meet the emergency, and the queen and her friends were met at Langside, as they were attempting to convey her to Dumbarton Castle as a place of security. Neither party was very numerous, but they were pretty equally matched ; and, consisting of men in full armour, they have been described as standing like walls of iron, each immovable, and pushing with a row of lances against the other. Meanwhile Morton coming up in the rear of the queen's forces, disturbed this equality, and the ranks of her supporters were broken. She fled to the abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway ; and there taking counsel how she should act, resolved that her safest plan would be to throw herself on the generosity of the Queen of England.



2. REFUGE IN ENGLAND.—Elizabeth was much puzzled in her tortuous policy how to dispose of such a fugitive. On one point only she was decided,—that Mary should not escape from her hands unless there was danger in retaining her. The royal guest was received with respect and distinction, but she soon found that she was a prisoner. When she desired an interview with Queen Elizabeth, it was answered, that a royal meeting between the two sovereigns was impossible while the character of the Queen of Scots was stained by the charge of atrocious crimes. Mary offered to justify herself from the accusations brought against her. It has been doubted what she meant by this; and while some have held that she did not intend to stoop to an investigation, but merely to make such explanations as one friend may make to satisfy another; on the other hand, it has been maintained that a person so accused, if denying the charge, and offering to explain, is bound to permit the fullest inquiry. Elizabeth took it for granted that the whole question was laid before her, and she appointed a commission, with the Duke of Norfolk at its head, to examine into the charges. It must be observed, that she did not put Mary on trial before a court of justice authorized to punish on conviction, for the English courts could not have decided on matters transacted in Scotland; but a commission was a body which might be instructed to make inquiry into any matter, whether the decision rested with the English government or was beyond its control.

THE INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES AGAINST MARY.—Before the commission, the Regent, with Morton, Secretary Maitland, and some others, appeared on the one hand to vindicate themselves from the charge of treason made against them in attacking their lawful sovereign; and on her side appeared, along with the Lords Herries and Boyd, Leslie bishop of Ross, a man of worth and ability, and one of the few who remained steadfast to Queen Mary through all her calamities. A curious scene occurred at the commencement. The chief commissioner called upon Mary to do homage for Scotland, as a fief of the English crown, in pursuance of the old notions which created the War of Independence. While Mary was hesitating what to answer, Lethington broke in with the scornful reply, that when Cumberland and Northumberland were restored to Scotland, homage would be done for them; but as for the realm itself, it was more free than England had been *of late*.

There is much mystery about the views of parties in this as in many other of the events connected with Queen Mary. Moray and his friends showed considerable reluctance in bringing accusations against their own queen before the servants of a foreign sovereign. There was a project, encouraged by Lethington at all events, if not met by Moray, to arrange a marriage between Mary and Norfolk, the chief commissioner, whose vast estates and feudal influence would have greatly increased the power of the Scottish crown. How those who thought Mary unfit to reign over them should have desired her power to be so increased, it is not easy to determine, nor would it be of use to attempt to fathom their motives, since the facts are only indistinctly and imperfectly known. Elizabeth saw, in the mean time, enough to induce her to change the scene of operations from the border, and the commissioners pursued their investigations in Westminster Hall, while Mary herself was removed from Bolton to Tutbury in Staffordshire. Moray still hesitated to bring forward his charges. It is said that threats by Queen Elizabeth were necessary to overcome his scruples; and without supposing that he had much affection for his sister, or loyalty for her who had been his queen, his reluctance was natural enough.

At last he distinctly accused her of being accessory to the murder of her husband, and of conniving at a plot for the destruction of the young prince her son. The evidence to support these charges was presented in a silver casket with gold ornaments. It had been seized in the custody of a follower of Bothwell, while conveying it from the castle of Edinburgh to Dunbar before his master had fled northwards. On getting this collection into her possession, Queen Elizabeth's policy was marked by her usual tortuousness. She would neither condemn nor acquit any party, but admitted that Moray was not guilty of rebellion; while, on the other hand, she could not allow that he had brought such proofs against Mary as were sufficient to found a decided judgment against her. Thus she said matters were in the same position as at first; but she kept the mysterious casket, lest at any time it might be of service to her to make use of its contents.

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.—These contents were a number of love-letters addressed by her to Bothwell, and other documents, which, if genuine, conclusively established Mary's guilt. They have long ago been destroyed. Copies of them, however, exist, and have been abundantly commented on by

the two parties who have formed opposite opinions concerning Queen Mary ; the one holding her guilty of the charges against her, the other maintaining that she was an injured martyr, and the victim of gross calumnies and malignant conspiracies. As no court of justice pronounced on the authenticity or spuriousness of these documents at the time, and as the originals no longer exist to be scrutinized, they are a fair subject of historical criticism. Owing to the doubts thus thrown on their authenticity, they have not been relied on in the narrative here given of the eventful history of the queen ; and it has been thought best to adhere to the undisputed facts, without entering on the question of her guilt or innocence.

Whatever view Elizabeth took of the conduct of Mary, she was still decided on one point,—to retain in captivity the unfortunate rival who had so imprudently sought her protection. Farther insight being obtained into the negotiation with Norfolk, he was arrested. This event, and the continued captivity of Mary, incited the leaders of the Romish party in the north of England, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland rose in a rebellion, which was, however, speedily suppressed.

3. MORAY'S GOVERNMENT.—Moray returning to his own country pursued a vigorous system of government, which, had he lived long enough, might have preserved order in Scotland. He looked for support to the rising ascendancy of the middle and instructed classes, and with a firm grasp held back the nobility from their interminable feuds. His measures were severe but not vindictive or sanguinary, though he roused the spirit of revenge in one who suffered by them. This was Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had joined the partisans of Mary at Langside. His conduct was held to be treason, and with other captives he was nominally doomed to death. Though they were spared, yet there were greedy claimants of their forfeited estates, as there always were when men of property happened to be on the losing side. The domain of Woodhouselee, on the banks of the Esk, near Edinburgh, which belonged to Hamilton, was bestowed on one of the other party, who was charged with using his right so cruelly, that Hamilton's wife, who had just given birth to an infant, was driven forth, and perished in the woods. The bereaved husband, bent on vengeance, determined to wreak it on no secondary person, but to single out Moray, whom he deemed the source of the evil.

Knowing that the regent was to pass through Linlithgow on the 23d of January 1570, he took his stand in a darkened room, where, with a loaded hackbut or musket, he waited patiently for his opportunity. He took his aim so well that Moray fell mortally wounded. The assassin passed out by a back passage, and escaped to France by the aid of his friends, who doubtless knew that the deed was to be perpetrated, and gave it their best sympathies.

LENNOX AND KIRKCALDY OF GRANGE.—Lennox, the father of Darnley, was now chosen regent. The chief reason of his appointment was the enmity which he would be expected to feel towards the queen for the death of his son. The rise of a powerful party adopting her cause, however, showed how much the other side lost by the death of Moray. The nation was in fact divided into two parties, so nearly matched in strength, that Scotland scarcely in her most lawless days experienced such a period of anarchy and ruin as a few of the years which followed the death of Regent Moray. The division was not properly into protestant and Roman-catholic: had it been so, the former would have been so very preponderant that it could have kept the other in awe. All the popish lords, as they were called, were on Queen Mary's side; but there was a considerable party of protestant gentlemen, with the chivalrous Kirkcaldy of Grange at their head, who were roused partly by a national feeling occasioned by the imprisonment of Mary in England, and partly by a reaction of compassion for her misfortunes, to declare themselves for her cause. She had thus among her champions, not only Huntly and the other Roman-catholic lords, but the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Rothes, Eglinton, Cassillis, and Crawford, with the Lords Seton, Gray, and Ogilvie, and many others, with the leaders of the Scots, the Kerrs, and other border families. The two parties were called queen's men and king's men; and the preponderance of the former among the nobility and gentry was so great, that an old historian wondered how it was possible that the other party, which numbered only a few of the meaner nobles on its side, should have kept its ground. But he forgot that the mercantile and middle classes were increasing in influence. These, looking at the frightful crimes which had contaminated the court, and at the rapacity and violence of the nobles, whose professed zeal for the Reformation ended in their enriching themselves with the estates of the church, were ready to welcome a change of rule. They were not

opposed to the monarchy nor to the existence of the aristocracy, but they did not desire the continuance of a reign which had been so calamitous; and in a change of rulers they had hopes that the ferocious tyranny of the nobles would be checked. Thus it was that the upper class were of the queen's party, and the middle and lower of the king's.

The former, besides the countenance of the aristocracy, had possession of the chief places of strength. Kirkcaldy of Grange, at the time when he changed his mind, was governor of Edinburgh Castle, under Moray, and he continued to hold it for the queen. At the same time he dexterously managed to protect Maitland of Lethington from his impending fate, and to secure him as a coadjutor. Lethington was arrested on a charge of accession to the murder of Darnley; but it is supposed that the true reason of the prosecution was his connexion with the project to unite Mary with the Duke of Norfolk. Kirkcaldy, before he had declared himself for the queen, demanded the person of Lethington in the king's name, and took him from his prison as if to commit him for greater security to Edinburgh Castle. At the same time a number of important prisoners from Langside were confined in the fortress, who were of course released when Kirkcaldy took the queen's part.

4. CIVIL WAR.—In the conflicts which ensued, the various families, districts, and clans had opportunities of pursuing their feuds and other personal objects. The house of Hamilton, in its various branches, was so savagely attacked, that its extinction appeared likely to be the result. In the south the restless borderers indulged in their customary devastating forays, but they were surpassed by the Macgregors and other marauding clans inhabiting the portions of the highland territory nearest to the lowlands. Among many other gallant feats, the capture of Dumbarton Castle by a party of the king's men, headed by Craufurd of Jordahill, was conspicuous. It was accomplished by scaling-ladders,—a method of assault exceedingly perilous, since, if it was discovered by the garrison, the ladders, with those mounting them, could be easily hurled down the precipice. On this occasion, one of the men growing sick, could neither move up nor down. He was immediately fastened to the ladder with ropes, and the ladder itself being turned round, the impediment was got over, and the castle carried. Within the fortress was found Archbishop Hamilton, offensive to the protestant party for

having pursued the preacher Wallace to death, while he lay under some suspicion of conniving at the murder of Darnley. An act of forfeiture, in his absence, had been passed by the Convention of Estates, and on this warrant, without farther trial, it was resolved to put him to death. He was hanged in his pontifical robes at the end of Stirling bridge, a copy of verses being affixed to the gibbet, expressing a hope that the tree would continue to bear such happy fruit. This was the first and for some years the only instance in which it appeared that the protestant party retaliated against the Romish priesthood, by enforcing the severe laws passed against them; but nominally, at least, it was not as an ecclesiastic, but as a state criminal that Hamilton suffered.

While the chief leaders of the king's party were assembled in Stirling, Kirkcaldy of Grange conceived the idea of marching rapidly with a small party from Edinburgh and kidnapping  
 4th Sept. } them. He nearly accomplished his purpose, and in  
 1570. } the scuffle, Lennox, the regent, was shot dead.

REGENCY OF MAR.—He was succeeded by the Earl of Mar, who entertained the hopeless design of reconciling the two parties to each other; and his disappointment in not achieving  
 24th Oct. } it is said to have brought him to his grave after  
 1572. } two years of anxious exertion.

His short administration has generally been considered as a bright contrast to the turbulent career of his ferocious contemporaries. But farther inquiry into the secret history of the period has served to show that Mar was no exception to the depraved morality of the age, since he encouraged an arrangement by which Queen Mary was to be brought from England, and, after a rapid form of trial in Scotland, put to death. The project seems to have been abandoned on Mar's decease, though it is difficult to understand why it was not pursued by his successor, who was one of the principal organizers of the scheme.

The death of Mar was closely followed by that of another individual who had a still greater influence on his age—John  
 24th Nov. } Knox. He expired in his sixty-seventh year, ex-  
 1572. } hausted by long excitement, his mental faculties to the last rousing his enfeebled frame to exertions beyond its strength.

5. REGENCY OF MORTON.—The Regent Mar was succeeded by a more conspicuous man, Douglas, lord Morton, remarkable even in that age for his profligacy and ferocity. He

was a follower of the Regent Moray, and in many matters his chief adviser. Like him, he was far-seeing, and studied the policy of the times, avoiding hasty and impulsive actions. Moray, however, though he was a man of a hard and perhaps an ambitious nature, seems to have desired the good of the country, and to have been sincerely, though perhaps not very warmly, attached to the protestant religion. Morton, on the other hand, appears to have entered into the fierce contests of his time with the sole object of aggrandizing himself whenever he found a good opportunity of doing so, without caring about political or even religious principle. He is branded in history as one of the clever men who have done mankind no good, because they have striven for themselves entirely instead of labouring for their fellow-beings.

He was one of whom it might always be calculated that there was no rapacity profitable to himself, and no oppression injurious to his enemy, which he would not commit if he were sure of success; but with many others who keep mere personal and immediate objects before them, he only treasured up a calamitous retribution. He received aid from Queen Elizabeth without any scruple; and as the king's party, of which he was the leader, gradually gained ground, the supporters of the queen were glad to abandon their opposition on favourable terms. An adjustment was concluded at Perth on the 23d of February 1573, the queen's friends agreeing, as the terms on which they were to be left unpunished, to take the position of repentant rebels, who, conscious of their iniquity, sought refuge in the mercy and charity of the predominant power.

FATE OF GRANGE.—One important name was however excepted from the amnesty. Kirkcaldy of Grange had held out Edinburgh Castle with extraordinary zeal and determination. He stood a long and animated siege, conducted with assistance from England, and he yielded only when the garrison was starving, and the chief defences were battered to pieces. The obstinacy of his resistance naturally created irritation and angry excitement; and Knox, on his deathbed, predicted that he would be shamefully dragged from the rock wherein he trusted, and hanged in the face of the sun. There was a strong desire to fulfil this prediction. Grange was much loved by his supporters for his chivalrous disposition, and they were ready to offer a tempting bribe to the regent to spare him. Morton was distracted by two contending motives,

3d August } avarice and revenge; but the pressure of others  
1573. } made the latter triumph, and Grange was executed.

**MORTON AND THE CHURCH.**—Morton professed to be strongly influenced by religious motives. In the execution of Grange, and many other actions more or less of the same character, he took merit for fulfilling the objects of the protestant clergy. But his greed prompted him to acts against their interests and that of the church, which more than neutralized such services. Thus he restored some of the bishoprics, which had remained vacant as if by common consent until the church should have fixed on a permanent form of ecclesiastical polity, and decidedly adopted either prelacy or the presbyterian form. Zeal for the episcopacy was far from being Morton's motive. His object in appointing bishops was merely to give an excuse for drawing the revenues of the sees, a great portion of which he grasped as his own share. These nominal prelates were popularly termed *tulchan* bishops. The expression was taken from an old term applied to a stuffed figure set beside a cow when her calf is removed, to induce her to yield her milk. They were a fictitious device for getting at the revenues of the church.

The grasping tyranny of Morton made him at last hateful to his own original supporters. In 1578, when James was twelve years old, a party of the nobility prevailed on him to let them issue a proclamation asserting that he had assumed in his own person the kingly authority. Morton resigned; but, retiring to his stronghold at Dalkeith, called the Lion's Den, he examined his resources, and by means of his wealth and the power of his kindred, he was enabled to bring together a considerable force, and put his enemies at defiance. It seemed as if the civil war was to be renewed on the question whether the Douglasses, on the one hand, or the nobles, who, headed by Argyll and Atholl, had combined against them, should have the custody of the king and the supreme power. By a sort of compromise, Morton was reinstated as regent, but with limited and precarious powers. Feeling himself like a beast of prey that may, on any occasion, be hunted down, he occupied himself in building a stronghold, at a place called Droghel, among the mountains, near the sources of the Tweed. Though he had the castles of Lochleven and Dalkeith, and several others, this new fortress was evidently designed to be of greater size and strength, that it might form a place of retreat when his enemies were upon



him. But it was never completed, and its unfinished fragments form a vast ruin in their solitary glen.

6. LENNOX AND ARRAN.—Morton as well as others perceived that as the prince grew up towards manhood new influences were arising which would entirely supersede his. King James became afterwards notorious for the unlimited confidence he reposed in personal favourites, and the vast and irresponsible power he permitted them to exercise. This propensity, which is more naturally the weakness of the young than of the old, of course soon made itself manifest. His earliest favourites were two young men of the name of Stewart. The one was Esmé, the lord of Aubigné, or D'Aubigné according to the French style, the son of a brother of Lennox, and thence a cousin of James's father Darnley. The young man was more a Frenchman than a Scot. He had all the external refinements of the French capital; and he is said at the same time to have been such a master of its vices, that he introduced those profligate practices which afterwards brought such scandal on the court. He professed himself a protestant; but, from his thoroughly foreign habits and connexion, this was not believed; and he had the obnoxious reputation of being a secret emissary of the court of Rome. He seems, however, to have been too fond of pleasure and idleness to entertain any deep designs; and though James and he were strongly attached to each other, the combination created against him compelled him to return to France.

The other favourite, James Stewart, was a man of different stamp. He was a son of Lord Ochiltree, and hence it would seem a brother of John Knox's wife. Stewart was as daring and rapacious as Morton himself; and soon the two unscrupulous men—the old and the young—were engaged in a death-struggle. After Morton had been successful in ruining his opponents of the house of Hamilton, he saw to his dismay that the spoil was given to his new rival, made Earl of Arran. By him Morton was one day formally accused of the murder of Darnley, and taken into custody.

FALL AND DEATH OF MORTON.—It was strange that one who had been for several years committing acts of undoubted rapacity should be arraigned for an offence which, were he really guilty of it, should have disqualified him from filling any office of power and trust. But the main object in that day was not so much how to punish the guilty, as how to bring down an enemy. Morton, conscious of the illegality of the acts

which he was perpetually committing, took care to fortify himself with parliamentary pardons or indemnities. When his ruin was resolved on, it was better to find some charge not covered by the indemnities than to put the proceedings of parliament at defiance; and, accordingly, the murder of Darnley was selected as a deed likely by its atrocity to excite a strong feeling against him. It was known that he was, like many others, forewarned of the murder. This he admitted, and justified himself for not disclosing the plot by saying that it was useless to reveal it to the queen, because she knew and approved of it; and as to Darnley himself, if he had been warned, he was so rash and foolish that he would only have brought his informant into danger.

Knowing quite well that he was doomed whenever his enemies gained the ascendancy, he showed a gloomy reserve, scarcely condescending to defend himself; and after a trial, 21 June  
1581. } of which, unfortunately, the record, which might have thrown some light on the history of this obscure period, has been lost, he was condemned to death. He met his fate with sullen heroism. A machine had just been brought into Scotland for beheading criminals by the rapid descent of a knife attached to a heavy weight. It was constructed on the same principle as that of the celebrated French guillotine, and was facetiously called the Maiden. Tradition reports that it was introduced by Morton, and that he was himself the first to suffer by it. This old instrument of death is preserved in the Antiquaries' Museum in Edinburgh.

7. RAID OF RUTHVEN.—The young king was now under the direction of his two favourites, Lennox and Arran; but, as far as politics were concerned, he was entirely led by the latter, who entertained deep-laid and bold projects. A body of the nobles connected with the protestant party resolved to defeat these projects, to rescue James from the control of his favourites, and get him into their own hands. He was now sixteen years old, and was induced to join a hunting-party in Perthshire. He pursued the sport without suspicion and much to his own enjoyment, when he received an invitation to visit the castle of Huntingtower, near Perth, belonging to Ruthven, earl of Gowrie. One morning the young king was somewhat disagreeably surprised by the number of the nobility, who seemed as if by a spontaneous influence to be assembling within the 22d Aug.  
1582. } great square tower, still conspicuous for its massive strength, and when he looked forth he saw the

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...and the fact that the *Journal of Management* is a leading journal in the field of management research, the *Journal of Management* is a leading journal in the field of management research.

the science of kingcraft, as he called it, he rendered himself open to the charge of both these vices. In after-life his duplicity availed him little, for it was so artificial and systematic, that it was easily understood and defeated. But the Ruthven conspirators do not seem to have suspected that, under his ungainly and boyish acquiescence, he was nourishing a deep hatred against them. He at length found an opportunity of escaping from their control.

A Convention of Estates was to be held in St Andrews; and the king, while he merely professed to be on a hunting-excursion, rode to that town a day or two before the opening of the convention. Professing a curiosity to see the fortress he entered the gate, when, by a preconcerted arrangement, it was closed, and James put himself under the protection of the garrison. The confederate lords presently hurried to St Andrews with their armed followers, but they saw that a party too powerful to be resisted had rallied round the king. At the same time they were offered favourable terms, and Ruthven himself was kindly received.

8. ASCENDENCY OF ARRAN.—It seemed as if mutual forbearance was for once to rule in Scottish councils, and the nation to be served by the principal men of both parties, instead of the one crushing the other and rising on its ruins. But the appearance of Arran at court dispelled such pleasing prospects. It was his aim to rule supreme, and grasp unrivalled the highest offices and emoluments; and the weak king, though distrusting him so much as to keep him for some time at a distance, yielded implicitly to his influence when he approached. His first step was to warn all those connected with the Raid of Ruthven, that though they had been well received by the king, they were, in the eye of the law, criminals, and liable to be prosecuted unless they sued out and obtained pardons. The granting of pardons through certain official forms, was often a means of great emolument to those who possessed influence to grant or refuse them, and Arran took the opportunity to levy heavy contributions. It was a farther condition that they were to leave the kingdom; and gradually one condition after another being annexed to their pardons, they grew desperate, and resolved to protect themselves by force. They projected a plan for surprising and seizing Stirling; but the Earls of Angus and Mar, who were to have been the leaders of the project, abandoned it when

April } they saw the large force prepared against them. Ruth-  
 1564. } ven was overpowered in Dundee, where he endeavoured to defend himself, and was brought to trial at Stirling. He had been guilty of many acts which doubtless in legal strictness justified a charge of treason; but it was well known that his prosecution, which ended in his being condemned and executed, was not so much an act of severe justice by the king as one of personal cruelty and revenge on the part of Arran, from whom it came the more ungraciously, that Ruthven, with more than the usual generosity of the age, had spared the favourite's life when he could have taken it.

The other members of the Ruthven party sought safety in England, where they formed a powerful secession from the Scottish aristocracy, awaiting for an opportunity to return in triumph.

9. THE KING AND THE CLERGY.—In the meantime, circumstances occurring in Scotland identified the refugees more than ever with the presbyterian party in the church. Feeling their religion in danger, they had united themselves by a signed confession in one of those bonds or leagues, for the  
 2d Jan. }  
 1561. } support of their religion and each other, which came afterwards to be called covenants. Following the example of Knox, and in some measure influenced by the strong disgust against the immorality of the court, which the latter years of Queen Mary's reign had excited, many of the clergy were very full and emphatic in their censures of the king and his advisers. Among the most conspicuous of these were the celebrated Andrew Melville, Pont, Durie, Craig, and Balcanqual. They generally uttered their rebukes in the pulpit, and were by no means abashed if the king happened to be present to receive them. When they were threatened with the penalties of the law courts or of the privy-council for their conduct, they maintained that for such acts done in pursuit of their spiritual functions, they were amenable to the ecclesiastical courts alone, and could not acknowledge any right of interference by the civil power.

James had not only, however, the highest notions of his own authority as a prince reigning by divine right, who was responsible to God alone for his acts, but was not a little conceited about his qualifications as a controversial divine. He was thus not content to remain aloof and punish the audacious contemners as he considered them, but he must needs

convince them by argument that they were wrong. He had been educated by the celebrated George Buchanan, and by means of diligent and laborious teaching, his weak mind had been filled with a quantity of the formal parts of knowledge. He was a grammarian and linguist, and had been trained to acquire the method of dialectics or argumentation. He thus considered himself more than a match for the presumptuous clergy, and invited them to occasional discussions. On their part nothing could be more gratifying, for they were prepared to maintain and justify their views against all principalities and powers, and to have to do so face to face with the sovereign gave distinction to the conflict. It may easily be supposed, then, that the juvenile pedant was no match for these veteran disputants when they were in earnest. They did not spare him, but, on the contrary, quoted in his presence all the denunciations against wicked kings in the Old Testament, enlarging on the penalties inflicted on them. Hence these controversies were generally humiliating instead of triumphant to the modern Solomon, as he was termed more in derision than in compliment, while he felt that it was ungracious to punish men for the bold arguments into which he had himself driven them.

**EPISCOPACY AND REGAL ASCENDENCY.**—To deal with such persons required great delicacy, and a happy combination of firmness with moderation. With King James, aided by an adviser like Arran, there was, on the other hand, nothing but blustering domination in success, or submission in defeat. In 1584, several laws were levelled at the most vital privileges which the churchmen claimed, and their enactment, coupled with the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy, threatened an entire subversion of that presbyterian polity which so large a portion of the clergy, especially in the south, supported. The first statute of that parliament was called "An act confirming the king's majesty's royal power over all estates and subjects within this realm." It declared the king and his council to have authority over every one in the kingdom, of whatsoever estate, degree, function, or condition, spiritual or temporal. The jurisdiction of any court, not sanctioned by the king and the three Estates, was discharged; and all assemblies or conventions, not held by authority of parliament, were prohibited. These provisions were levelled against the General Assembly and the other judicatories of the church, not only in their judicial capacity as deciding on certain classes of questions

deemed ecclesiastical, but also as assemblages for the general management of ecclesiastical affairs.

Another enactment served to show how far the king had been annoyed by his ineffectual debates with the clergy. It provided, "that none take upon hand, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to offer any false, slanderous, or untrue speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his majesty, his council, and proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt, or prejudice of his highness, his parents, or progenitors." The last prohibition had special allusion to many bitter remarks about Queen Mary, whose memory the clergy did not spare when laying before her son the consequences of iniquity.

David Lindsay, one of the ministers, was appointed to convey to the king a protest against these measures. He was, however, in the meantime seized and conveyed to the castle of Blackness, being accused of secret intrigues with England. Pont and Balcanqual, who publicly protested against the measures, took flight across the border. Here they were joined by a considerable body of their brethren, and thus it happened that a large number of the principal nobility of Scotland, and the most zealous and able of the clergy, were at the same time exiles in England. Their common sufferings of course naturally cemented their union.

10. THE ASSOCIATED LORDS AND THE FALL OF ARRAN.—This state of matters gave ample opportunity for Queen Elizabeth's government to endeavour, by intrigues and secret negotiations, to influence the condition of Scotland. This was a question of momentous importance to England. In the first place, Queen Mary was still a captive there, and those designs were in progress which ended, as we shall presently see, in her death by the hands of the executioner. There were fears that if she lived she would exercise a constant secret influence over her son's court, and fears nearly as great that if the design of putting her to death were executed, there would be still greater risk from the indignation of her devoted partisans. It was reported to the court of England by those who kept watch over the affairs of Scotland, that the young king was secretly tainted with the principles of the church of Rome, and inclined to ally himself with the confederacy of Continental despots, of whose projects the massacre of St Bartholomew was represented to be a type. It was said that his severity towards the presbyterian party in the church arose

not so much from any preference for the episcopal form of the protestant religion, as from a design gradually to bring Scotland under the dominion of the pope.

When so large and important a number of the leaders, lay and ecclesiastic, of Scottish affairs were refugees in England, it was natural that all the diplomatic powers of Queen Elizabeth's statesmen should be devoted to the task of influencing the fate of Scotland in what they deemed the right direction. Many secret intrigues were then carried on, of the character of which faint indications only have been discovered by the most diligent historians. Everything that is known about them is confused and doubtful; and as it is impossible to derive from them any distinct narrative of events, an attempt to give an account of them would merely overload the memory with petty and inconclusive statements.

The most active conductor of these intrigues was Sir Edward Wotton, sent as an emissary to Scotland. He was there when it was at last resolved that the confederate lords should return from England, and at the head of an armed force protect the king, as it was said, from the influence of those who abused his confidence. In the autumn of 1585 they crossed the border. The king and Arran were then at Stirling, and the favourite, conscious of the movement, had made some provision to meet it by embodying a sufficient force; but he was now losing friends on all hands, and his preparations were very imperfect. The cause of the associated lords was in the meantime so popular, that before they reached Stirling they had an army of 10,000 men. Arran fled, and lived and died in obscurity, and James appeared cordially to receive the new councillors thus forced upon him.

11. QUEEN MARY IN ENGLAND.—While such events were occurring in Scotland, Mary remained in captivity; and during a long train of sufferings endured by herself, she was the cause of many calamities to others. At its commencement her imprisonment had an exciting character. Though suspiciously watched, she was treated in some measure with the ceremony due to a crowned head. The project of her marriage with Norfolk was actively renewed. He had been released from prison on an engagement to abandon any such design, and it may be questioned if at first he had seriously entertained it. But it appears after his release to have gradually settled in his mind, and the fascinations of Mary were shown in the entire conquest of this new lover. They were enabled to



conduct a correspondence in cipher, in which Mary expressed towards him an ardency and constancy of affection which even rivalled her declarations of attachment for Bothwell. The project was connected with arrangements for a rising of the English Roman-catholics, and for assistance from Spain; and as it must, if successful, have dethroned Elizabeth and revolutionized England, Norfolk was tried for high-treason and beheaded.

Though she had not the same opportunities for herself conniving at them, plots were perpetually contrived, of which Mary was the main object. In 1584 occurred the conspiracy of Francis Throgmorton, connected, though to what extent could not exactly be discovered, with the operations of the Roman-catholic powers of the Continent. Spain had just achieved the subjugation of Portugal, and was believed to meditate, in conjunction with other powers, a formidable descent on England,—a suspicion afterwards verified by facts. In France, Queen Mary's uncle, Guise, at the head of the League, commanded a large conquering army, and seemed likely to drive the king from his throne, unless he adopted their extreme views for the suppression of protestantism and in favour of the Spanish alliance. It was believed that the contemporary proceedings in Scotland against the presbyterians, just referred to, were connected with the same popish organization. Incidental matters spread the alarm: among others, a man named Crichton, a Scottish jesuit, being pursued by a privateer while sailing to Scotland, tore to pieces and threw away a paper; but the wind driving back the fragments, miraculously as it was supposed, they were put together, and found to contain a project for the invasion of England. An association was formed to protect the throne of Queen Elizabeth, and to pursue to the death any rival attempting to supplant her,—a document corresponding in some measure with the obligation or covenant adopted in Scotland.

A year afterwards there was a solitary plot by a convert to Romanism, named Parry, to assassinate Elizabeth. It was followed, in the year 1586, by the more formidable conspiracy of Babington, which might have produced the most disastrous results had it not been carefully tracked through all its ramifications by the skilful emissaries employed by the English government. The situation of Mary had in the meantime degenerated into one of much personal hardship and misery, produced by a rigorous imprisonment. While the question,

whether she committed the great crimes laid to her charge may be matter of dispute, there can be no doubt that Elizabeth acted towards her with ungenerous cruelty. With all her ability, and along with many qualities in themselves noble, jealousy and envy were two bad passions by which this eminent queen was devoured; and neither the just claims of a sound generosity, nor the desire to preserve a fair repute with the world, could make her abandon any means of oppression and hardship to which she could subject her captive. Mary was exposed not only to harassing inquisitiveness, but frequently wanted the comforts, the decencies, and even the necessities of life.

It is the wanton nature of this oppression, and the calm dignity with which it was endured, that have surrounded the memory of Queen Mary with a pensive interest, and embodied a host of champions who have devoted their pens to her vindication, as the knights-errant of old dedicated their lances to the cause of oppressed beauty. Perhaps the hardest ordeal which, if she possessed much of ordinary human feeling, she endured, was the harshness of her own son, who treated her as one who had disgraced her family, and was to be kept out of sight and remembrance. In her troubles she consoled herself as she best might by a little reading, and by unwearied working with the needle. To those who believed her guilty, it seemed as if her steady submission and patience were to be connected with the penitential system of her church, and intended to counterbalance, by long years of uncomplaining suffering, a brief period of license and sin.

12. **HER FATE.**—But the hardships she was doomed to endure were not all the evil intended against her. It is now certainly shown that Elizabeth would have been glad had any of her servants managed to make away with the prisoner; and that she gave very significant hints to that effect. Her views were even communicated by the secretaries Walsingham and Davison to Sir Amyas Paulet, who had her in charge; and it is creditable to him, as well as to the other inferior officers of the government, that no one could be prevailed upon to undertake the nefarious deed. There were, however, abundant demands to bring her to public trial and condemnation, and at last Elizabeth had an excuse for saying that such a measure was pressed upon her. Before Babington's conspiracy, an act had been passed making a new treason law especially to meet her case, in which it seemed to be enacted that if a

conspiracy was attempted in favour of a pretender to the throne, that pretender, though ignorant of the project, was to be held guilty of high treason. This was doubtful, however, and it was at all events politic to connect Mary directly with the conspiracy. As often happens in such cases, she had had dealings with persons who themselves had held intercourse with the chief conspirators, and thus a chain of evidence was made out for those willing to convict. The commission appointed under the act sat in the castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, to which she had been removed. They found her guilty; but, by the form of the new law, it remained for the queen to act on their decision by a warrant for the execution.

Elizabeth now resumed her wonted duplicity with more zeal than ever, but with no more success, as all her arts have been very easily seen through. She professed an extreme unwillingness to yield to the necessity forced upon her, and managed to obtain from all sides pressing solicitations to do that which she most anxiously desired to accomplish. At length the warrant was presented to her by Secretary Davison, and she signed it, making some general and partly jocular remarks, which probably surprised the secretary, but which were intended to be used afterwards, to show that she did not believe herself to be doing a serious act.

The warrant was taken to the privy-council, who authorized it to be put in force, conscious that they would best serve their mistress by speedy action and little discussion. Queen Mary prepared for her fate with calm dignity. Though only in the forty-sixth year of her age, the once beautiful princess was now an elderly-looking grey haired woman, bent down with grief and misfortune. She was beheaded in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle on the 8th of February 1587.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Who was made regent? What was done for the new ecclesiastical establishment? Give an account of Mary's escape. What was the result of it?
2. What reception did Elizabeth give Queen Mary? What sort of inquiry was raised? What charge was ultimately brought? Give a general account of the state of the question as to the guilt or innocence of Queen Mary.
3. What was the character of the Regent Moray's government? Give an account of his assassination. Who was his successor? How was the country divided?
4. What was the condition of the country? How was Dumbarton Castle taken? What was the character of Mar's regency? When did John Knox die?
5. Who succeeded Mar? Give an account of the new regent's character. What was the fate of Grange? How did Morton act towards the church?

6. Give an account of the rise of two new favourites. What charge was made against Morton? What was his fate?

7. Give an account of the Raid of Ruthven? How did those concerned in it find themselves situated? How did the king escape?

8. What destroyed the hopes of tranquillity? What was the nature of Arran's ascendancy? What was the fate of Ruthven?

9. What position was taken up by the presbyterian party? What were the views of the king? What was done in 1584? What was the immediate result of the measures?

10. How was England affected towards Scotland? How was Sir Henry Wotton employed? What was the fate of Arran?

11. What was Mary's position in England? What was Norfolk's fate? Mention the other plots which occurred in England. How did Mary conduct herself?

12. What were Elizabeth's designs? On what ground was Mary tried? Describe the conduct of Elizabeth in reference to her execution.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### THE REIGN OF JAMES VI. TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS, A.D. 1586—1603.

**Elizabeth and James—The Armada—James's Marriage—Stewart, Earl of Bothwell—Establishment of Presbytery—Dread of Popery—The Spanish Blanks—Battle of Glenlivet—The King and the Clergy—The Octavians—Outbreak in Edinburgh—The King's Flight and Return—Steps in the Establishment of Episcopacy—Conformity of the Popish Lords—The Gowrie Conspiracy—Succession to the Crown of England—Condition of Scotland—Progress of Learning—National Literature.**

1. **ELIZABETH AND JAMES.**—No sooner was the execution of Queen Mary accomplished than Elizabeth's little by-plot burst. She maintained that the warrant had not been intended to be issued for execution, and professed supreme grief and indignation that her servants had dared to act on it. She carried her profession so far as to dismiss Secretary Davison; and there is no doubt that those who had been tampered with to put Mary secretly to death, must have rejoiced that they did not yield to the temptation, since they would probably have been left to the ordinary fate of assassins.

This duplicity was designed to save appearances before foreign governments, and to deceive King James, or give him an opportunity of deceiving himself. Prior to the event, he made some not very serious efforts to impede Elizabeth's

purpose by negotiation. After the tragedy he indulged in an outburst of wrath; and the parliament which he assembled were quite ready to consider the execution of their sovereign, though they had themselves deposed her, as a national insult which would justify war. The anger of the king, however, gradually cooled. He considered that what was done could not be undone, and consoled himself with the punishment of Davison, and the hypocritical pretences of Queen Elizabeth. He at the same time probably remembered that she allowed him a considerable annual pension, which he could ill dispense with in the condition into which the Scottish finances had been allowed to lapse. The affair of the Spanish Armada occurred in the ensuing year. As James had done nothing from his own resources to avenge his mother's death, the question now was, whether he should take the opportunity of identifying himself with the attempt of Philip of Spain to subdue England in 1588.

THE ARMADA.—A Scottish refugee, Colonel Semple, who had been long in Spain, was sent by the Duke of Parma to negotiate with the Popish lords, as Huntly, Atholl, and others of the old persuasion were termed, as well as to accomplish what he could for aid in Scotland. Protestantism had now made such progress, however, that the great bulk of the people felt the approach of the Armada to be as ominous to themselves as it was to the English, against whom it was directed. If James had taken the side of Spain, he would certainly have been dethroned in the meantime; while he had the prospect, if the Armada were defeated, as it was, of ensuring the potent enmity of England. He resolved at last heartily to make common cause with his neighbours. As an indication of the prevailing spirit of the country, the Confession of Faith or Covenant which had been adopted in 1581 was resuscitated, and was signed by the king and his court. James thought, that when the danger was over, Elizabeth did not show him such substantial marks of gratitude for his co-operation as her previous solicitations and anxiety had induced him to expect. It was perhaps for this reason that, when the secret correspondence of the popish lords was revealed to him, he treated them with a degree of clemency which was very offensive to his more zealous supporters. That they compelled him subsequently to be more rigid, we shall presently see.

2. JAMES'S MARRIAGE.—In the ensuing year James had a

more agreeable business to attend to. Proposals were made for his union with Anne, a daughter of the King of Denmark. On her way over she was intercepted by a storm, and the vessel was delayed in a Norwegian harbour. Resolving for once in his life to perform a deed of gallantry totally at variance with the tenor of his ordinary existence, he set off on a voyage to Norway to bring home his bride, and visited her father in Denmark. At his hospitable court he appears to have found the kind of convivial company to which he was partial; for a letter is extant to one of his boon companions, a son of the Earl of Crawford, which he dates "from the castle of Cronberg, where we are drinking and driving our in the auld manner." Anne of Denmark was an amiable woman, clever in accomplishments and literature, but not inclined to meddle with political matters, and she passed a quiet unnoticed life. They landed at Leith on the 1st of May 1590, the king having been six months absent. His journey homewards was rendered memorable by the trial and punishment of several witches charged with going out to sea in sieves, and with various other equally probable machinations, for the purpose of raising a storm for his destruction. James thought this a far more important conspiracy than that of the popish lords. He took an immense personal interest in the examinations, and was proud to hear one of the witches state, that Satan had told her the cause of his enmity to King James was because he was a man of God. The solemn investigation of the preposterous charges against these old women would seem ludicrous, but that they suffered torture and were put to death.

STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL.—These prosecutions were, however, in some measure connected with the political and religious disputes of the reign. Francis Stewart, an illegitimate relation of the king, had, among other marks of favour, received the earldom and some of the estates of the notorious Bothwell; and, holding the same title, he seemed anxious to rival his predecessor in notoriety. It was mentioned in the course of the inquiry as to the witches, that he had put questions to them regarding the king's death, and otherwise conducted himself in a very suspicious manner. For this he was ordered to retire to one of the royal fortresses,—a method by which persons whose conduct became questionable, were subject to be watched and circumscribed in their liberty without being actually retained in dungeons. Impatient and violent,

the earl would not submit to the irksomeness of detention, but went to the borders, where his influence and estates lay, and collected a band of freebooters, who were ready to follow him in any desperate adventure. Bothwell, though it is questionable if he had much religion, identified himself with the most popular party of the church, and professed to be the champion of protestantism. Leading his borderers, and such as were on this ground inclined to support him, he made an impetuous attack on Holyrood Palace, and almost succeeded in capturing the king; thundering, as the evidence states, with a fore-hammer against the door of his apartment. Bothwell and his followers now retreated to the border; while his ally the Earl of Moray, a son of the regent, called, from his handsome appearance, "the Bonnie Earl of Moray," remained in his castle of Donibristle, on the Frith of Forth. By a form, then very frequent, letters of fire and sword were issued against him, and were committed to the Earl of Huntly, the head of the popish lords, to be put in execution. Having a strong hereditary, as well, perhaps, as a political enmity against Moray, he acted so recklessly as to slay him in the attack on his castle.

This slaughter, and the quarter whence it emanated, excited great indignation. Bothwell, taking advantage of it, with three  
 28th June }  
 1592. } hundred horse, attacked the king, in his hunting-palace of Falkland, in Fifeshire, and was with difficulty repulsed. A third time he made an attempt on the palace, and so suddenly, that it was said the king had, in his alarm, endeavoured to escape half-dressed. On this occasion he forced James to grant him terms, requiring that he should receive a pardon, and that his acts should be deemed those of a good subject. In fact, he exercised an armed influence over the king, who remained, in some measure, his prisoner. A Convention of Estates was held at Stirling, before whom the whole matter was laid. Bothwell seems to have expected a majority in his favour; but the Estates found his conduct to be treasonable, and left it to his majesty's discretion to decide, whether the promise of pardon, extorted as it was, should be kept. The pardon, however, was still conceded, on certain conditions, by which Bothwell was either to leave the realm, or put it otherwise out of his power again to be formidable and turbulent: conditions which were very imperfectly observed.

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERY.—When the affair of the

king and his restless assailant is looked on by itself, it becomes difficult to understand how a sovereign, with high monarchical notions, who deemed any attack or even reflection on his own sacred person the greatest of human crimes, should have treated an offender like Bothwell so leniently. We can only account for it by perceiving, that though Bothwell had no strong religious prepossessions of his own, and many of his followers were equally unscrupulous, he managed to place himself in the position of a champion of the presbyterian body, then acquiring an overwhelming strength. If James expected to govern by dividing the two ecclesiastical parties against each other, he found himself mistaken: and, in the parliament of 1592, he was obliged virtually to consent to the establishment of presbytery.

The act of 1592 was long termed "The charter of the liberties of the kirk." It revoked the offensive provisions of 1584, with the partial authority which had been conferred on the protestant bishops. It ratified the General Assemblies appointed by the church, and declared that they should be held annually, or oftener if need be; provided that the king, or a commissioner appointed by him, should be present, and should have the fixing of a time for holding the next assembly. The provincial synods and presbyteries were in like manner authorized, and provision was made for the special powers and functions of these presbyterial courts. The collation of clergymen, which had belonged to the bishops, was vested in presbyteries, to whom all presentations were to be addressed; and it was provided that the presbyteries "be bound and restricted to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister presented by his majesty or laic patrons,"—a clause which produced much subsequent discussion.

**DREAD OF POPERY.**—But while thus triumphant, the presbyterians considered themselves in great danger from popery. It was maintained that the king showed a suspicious clemency to the popish lords, and particularly to Huntly, in connexion with the charge of slaying the Earl of Moray. It was asserted, that James himself still kept up a correspondence with the Romish party on the Continent, and even had agents at the court of Rome itself. There are documents extant which seem to confirm such suspicions, though if there were any such negotiations, they must have been conducted with extreme caution, James never committing himself to any specific promises. He had no strong preference for the protestant faith,



and if it could have been proved that it was for his in to give in his adherence to Rome, it is likely that he have done so. He had one great objection, however, principles of the most zealous Romanists, and especial jesuits. They desired to place the church above the tl and had not sufficient respect for princes. While their of spiritual independence was the chief cause of his enm the presbyterians, he believed that the jesuits carried the ciple much farther, charging them with the doctrine, wicked kings, or those who were not subservient to the cl might be justifiably slain.

4. THE SPANISH BLANKS.—There were strong suspi however, that he would support the cause of the popish pr if he found it compatible with his interest and ambition events occurred which tended to nourish the fears thus tained. Some uneasiness was excited by the designs of t named Ker, who was lurking in the small islands of the brays in the Frith of Clyde. He was seized by the mi of Paisley, and in his possession were some pieces of p addressed, as it were, to a royal personage, with the cor ing words of a letter, or address, thus:—"Your maj very humble and very obedient servant," followed by t nature. The remainder of each paper was left blank; a further inquiry, and the discovery of some other docume seemed clear that the intention was that each blank shou filled up in due time by the emissary to whom they we: trusted, with an offer to second the King of Spain an Prince of Parma should they arrive in force. The blanks tained the signatures of Huntly, of his relation Gord Auchindoun, and of Erroll, known popish leaders; but seemed to be still more alarming, that of Angus, a protee accompanied them. The mystery of the Spanish blank: never properly solved. Ker and Angus escaped, and

however, reported that, trusting to James's leniency, and to the prospect of foreign assistance, they were up in arms in the north, and were proposing to march southwards and seize the king. But the most extraordinary part of the rumour was, that Bothwell, who had hitherto professed to act out of pure zeal for the protestant cause, was to be the main instrument in effecting the project. At a Convention of Estates, a doom  
 8th June } of forfeiture was passed against Huntly, Angus, and  
 1594. } Erroll. Still it seemed as if James was strangely reluctant to strike: he complained of the want of sufficient funds to cope with these powerful nobles, and even said that the expense of christening his infant son Henry had materially crippled his resources.

BATTLE OF GLENLIVET.—A means however was found for attacking the popish lords by the method so often pursued in the highlands of setting clan against clan. The Campbells, with the M'Leans, and other wild tribes of the west, were incited against the Gordons of the north by the promise of succeeding to forfeitures. When the Earl of Argyll marched northwards at the head of a large body of highlanders, Huntly quickly gathered his followers, who, though living in the far north, were chiefly lowland gentlemen, and much better mounted and armed, though less numerous than their opponents.

Argyll's army passing by the head of the Don, met their enemy at Glenlivet. The Gordons, besides their other sources of superiority, had established what was in those days a very rare feature in a field of battle,—a battery of cannon masked or concealed. When the artillery gave forth its thunders, the highlanders, not accustomed to encounter that formidable  
 3d October } engine of war, were broken, and a charge of  
 1594. } cavalry threw them into disorder and rout. Many of them were slain, but only a few of the victors fell, and the popish lords had thus succeeded in making a triumphant commencement of the struggle.

The king was at Dundee when he heard of the battle of Glenlivet. Driven to effectual action at last, he raised money from incidental sources, and marched northwards with an army; while Huntly still professed the purest loyalty, and made an entire distinction between a battle with Argyll, his feudal enemy, and resistance to a force headed by the king himself. James therefore returned in triumph; the great northern potentates were humbled, and their fortalices dismantled.

5. THE KING AND THE CLERGY.—Huntly and Erroll went abroad, but they returned in apparent confidence of the king's clemency. Again the more zealous and bold of the friends of the established church maintained that James was showing favour to popery; and the ministers assailed him from their pulpits with greater violence. Their attacks appear to have increased in vehemence, the more they seemed to irritate the king. His efforts to overcome the clergy in a kind of authoritative disputation which he held with them, only excited them to more bitter assaults; and they naturally thought that as he entered with them into the arena of polemical debate, he was not justified in using coercion towards those whom he failed to convince.

A permanent committee had been appointed by the clergy to sit in Edinburgh, for conducting the business of the church, which at that time mainly consisted in the differences with the king. The existence of such a body was not in conformity with the act which authorized the General Assembly, but at the same time defined its powers. This council declared that in exercising the functions of the church they were not limited by acts of parliament, or bound to obey royal warrants for their dispersal. The clergy maintained at the same time individually, that they were not responsible for any remarks that they might make on the king and his ministers in performance of their ministerial functions in the pulpit. If these claims by the church and the clergy were despotic and not sufficiently definite, the method in which they were met was liable to the same objection, since the proceedings against the clergy, instead of being taken in courts of law with their strict rules, were adopted in the privy-council, a body with arbitrary and indistinct powers. One of the clergy, named Black, was cited before this tribunal for his conduct in St Andrews. He was charged with having stated in the pulpit that the king had discovered the treachery of his heart in having induced the popish lords to return to Scotland; that the court was influenced by the devil; that the lords of session were miscreants and bribers; and that the nobility were godless dissemblers, and enemies of the church.

The committee of ministers instructed Black not to plead to the charge, or do anything to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-council, and their resolutions on the subject were circulated throughout the country, and subscribed by the clergy. The king issued a proclamation, dissolving the com-

mittee of ministers, and requiring its members to return to their respective charges; and, in the meantime, Black was ordered to betake himself to the north,—a sentence intended rather to assert the power of the council than to subject him to a severe punishment. A test or bond of allegiance to the king was required of the clergy as a qualification for holding their benefices; and a small body of the citizens, between twenty and thirty, who were among the chief lay instigators of the resistance of the clergy, were ordered to leave the metropolis.

**THE OCTAVIANS.**—The government was then in a very peculiar position. Its financial affairs had fallen into extreme disorder, the receipts being quite insufficient for the expenditure. To remedy this evil, the king gave up all control over the finances, which might be exercised either by himself or by any officer of the crown, into the hands of a committee who should have absolute authority over the departments of receipt and expenditure. They were called the Octavians, from the Latin for their number, which was eight. It was said that when the king, like a private bankrupt, was pondering over his difficulties, the queen playfully threw at him a purse of gold, and took the opportunity of recommending to him the men and the system of management which had enabled her to save it out of her own narrow income. However the plan may have been suggested, it naturally was unpopular with the usual officers of the government, who felt their functions superseded, and were subjected to a stringent economy by no means pleasing to them. The intrigues and jealousies between them greatly weakened the crown, and the church, by vigorous and cautious management, might have secured considerable concessions. The violence of the clergy was, however, followed by a reaction which broke their influence.

**6. OUTBREAK IN EDINBURGH.**—As the minister Balcanqual was mounting the pulpit, an anonymous letter was put into his hands, stating that the popish Huntly was closeted with the king, and was the adviser of the restrictive measures against the church. The minister preached an exciting sermon, referring to the news he had received, and exhorting his auditors to meet in a chamber called “the Little Church,” after the service was over. There a few of the barons who supported the cause of Balcanqual’s party assembled in extreme excitement, and sent a deputation to the king, who was close at hand, presiding at a council in an upper story of the old Tol-

booth, where the meetings of the council and of the courts of justice were usually held.

On the entrance of these excited deputies, who, though but five in number, were closely followed by others, James, who was easily startled, seems to have lost his self-possession. Instead of receiving them with calm dignity, he made some angry remarks, which produced similar answers, and Lord Lindsay, a vehement and passionate man, when asked how his friends had dared to meet contrary to the proclamation, replied, fiercely, "We dare more than that; and shall not suffer the truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by." The king at last becoming thoroughly frightened by the menacing aspect of those who crowded in, started up, and escaped by a side door to the lower floor, where the Court of Session was assembled.

Meanwhile the assembly in the Little Church had been listening to a preacher who was exhorting them from the history of Haman and Mordecai. To tell such a meeting that the king had run away, and refused to listen to them, was like dropping a spark on gunpowder. The excited people rose and flew forth, but their want of purpose prevented them from combining to accomplish any end. Some endeavoured to batter in the doors of the Tolbooth; others called for the destruction of obnoxious statesmen; and the confusion was rendered more inextricable by a great many persons desiring to preserve order and defend the king, yet not knowing how to do so.

The Earl of Mar was sent to remonstrate with the ministers as the apparent authors of this tumult. They were themselves thoroughly alarmed at the demon which they had raised, but they still insisted on the withdrawal of the proceedings of the privy-council, the restoration of the banished citizens, and the dismissal of three statesmen who were offensive to them,—Seton, the Lord President, suspected of popish leanings; Elphinstone; and Thomas Hamilton the Lord Advocate, known by the name of Tom of the Cowgate, a lawyer of great ability, who, however, was much employed in proceedings against the church.

THE KING'S FLIGHT AND RETURN.—James, while he still felt himself in danger, gave an evasive answer to these demands, and, seizing a suitable moment, slipped down with a few attendants to Holyrood, where he scarcely considered himself safe. Thence he departed secretly to Linlithgow, and his

flight was announced by a herald, who, somewhat to the dismay of the people, proclaimed that, after the late tumult, Edinburgh was no longer a fit place to be the royal residence and the seat of government, and commanding the privy-council, the lords of session, and all other official persons, to hold themselves in readiness to attend the king elsewhere.

This conveyed an alarming menace to the citizens, especially those of the trading class, whose business would of course be seriously affected by the removal to another place of those official persons and members of parliament who had for some years been in the habit of residing in Edinburgh as the seat of government. It was at the same time whispered among them that James was making arrangements with some of the highland chiefs and border marauders, to lead an army of their followers to the punishment of the rebellious city. They knew that they would receive little mercy at such hands, and began accusing each other of having caused the outbreak and its consequences. The clergy stood firm, but they were not supported either by the aristocracy or the townspeople.

1st January } The king at last thought fit to make a triumphant  
1597. } return, justifying in some measure the fears of the citizens, by having a guard of borderers and highlanders for his protection. The keys were delivered up by the magistrates with expressions of deep sorrow for what had occurred, promises of all endeavour to keep order in future, and hints that the turbulent and ambitious clergy, who had created the excitement, would be discountenanced.

7. STEPS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY.—While the church was weakened by the conduct of its too zealous partisans, James took the opportunity of making a step onwards to the restoration of episcopacy. A General Assembly was summoned to meet at Perth, and before its meeting, a set of queries, amounting to fifty-five in number, was circulated among the various church courts. They entered minutely into the several questions which might arise between the ecclesiastical and civil power, or between the authority of the church and that of the king. To all those clergymen who wished to avoid the extremes of submission or denial, these queries must have been a very unpleasant ordeal, for few like to be closely questioned about the powers and privileges of the body they belong to, by one who evidently desires their humiliation; and a more prudent ruler than James would have avoided pressing them so hard. The synod of Fife answered the

queries frankly in their own favour, saying, "The acts and constitutions of the kirk are of higher authority than those of any earthly king; yea, they should command and overrule kings, whose greatest honour should be to be members and nursing fathers to the King Christ Jesus, and his house and queen, the kirk."

But there was a considerable number of the clergy, especially in the northern counties, who thought otherwise; and it is at this period that we find, for the first time, efforts to make use of that division of sentiment which ranked the northern clergy on the side of the episcopalian, and the southern in favour of the presbyterian system of church government. It was a great object, therefore, with the king and his friends to procure the presence of these northern clergy, but from the defective state of travelling in that age, this was not easily accomplished. Perth was a place pretty fairly situated for both parties, and Mr Murray, an active gentleman of the bedchamber, was sent into the north to canvass the members, and bring them up to vote. The assembly which so met was tolerably compliant. It was not required, however, to adopt the new system at once, but a committee of fourteen, called the Commissioners of the Church, was appointed to represent them in conferences with the king.

James professed that his object was to give dignity, stability, and increased emolument to the church. It was represented, that by the creation of dignified clergymen with large incomes, some of the property of the church which, as belonging to the abolished dignities, had been grasped by lay lords, might be restored. "I mean not," he said, "to bring in papistical and Anglican bishops, but only that the best and wisest of the ministry should be selected by your assembly to have a place in council and parliament to sit upon their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants utterly despised and disregarded."

The first step was for the fourteen commissioners to recommend the adoption of a parliamentary representation of the church. Parliament immediately adopted the suggestion by an act passed in 1597. After strong protestations in favour of the true protestant religion, as established by law, and his majesty's great zeal in that direction, it provides, "that such pastors and ministers within the same, as at any time his majesty shall please to provide to the office, place, title, and dignity of ane bishop, abbot, or other prelate, shall

at all time thereafter have vote in parliament suchlike and as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had at any time by-gone." It was also provided, that thereafter any such endowments coming into the gift of the king, should be made over only to persons qualified as actual ministers or preachers.

The arrangement was not finally acknowledged by the church until the General Assembly, which met at Montrose in March 1600. The persons nominated to fill the new dignities were not to be arbitrarily appointed by the king, but each was to be chosen out of six persons named by the church. The prelates were to have power in parliament, only as they represented their brethren, to whom they were responsible for their parliamentary conduct. They were to be working clergymen, and to have no higher authority than their brethren in matters of discipline. These provisions, intended to save the independence of the church, were called the "caveats;" but, in allusion to them, Davidson, a zealous presbyterian, said, "Busk him, busk him as bonnily as ye can, we ken him weel enough; we see the horns of his mitre."

8. CONFORMITY OF THE POPISH LORDS.—While this important change was going on, the king, as if to remove all dread that it had an antipresbyterian tendency, told the popish lords that they must conform to the national church. An event of a very unusual kind followed this order. The lords expressed their willingness to join the established church should they become convinced by the arguments of any protestant minister that they were in error. It was soon after added that they had been so convinced, and their renunciation of idolatry and adoption of the religion of the Reformation became the object of a solemn ceremony in the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen. In the neighbourhood of that town the popish lords had their chief influence, and the event of their reconciliation with the government and the church was celebrated by feasting and rejoicing. The zealous presbyterian party, however, believed this conversion to be a hollow farce, and the circumstances which preceded and followed it seem to justify their suspicions.

THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.—Another event soon afterwards occurred—one of the most mysterious in all history, and so difficult to be explained, that it appears to have no connexion with the other events of the period, but to stand quite alone. It is generally called the Gowrie conspiracy, as the persons chiefly concerned in it were the young Earl of Gowrie and



his brother Alexander, the sons of the lord who had led the Raid of Ruthven, and the grandsons of that Ruthven who was so conspicuously concerned in the murder of Rizzio. On the morning of the 5th of August 1600, the king was hunting the stag, near Falkland in Fifeshire, when Alexander Ruthven presented himself as the bearer of secret and important intelligence. He stated that he had observed a suspicious-looking man skulking about the country, who, on being seized and examined, was found to have in his possession a large pot filled with Spanish gold pieces. He recommended that James should himself ride on and examine the mystery, which evidently was not one to be left to the discretion of the ordinary authorities.

The reference to the treasure awakened the king's cupidity; and he was fond of personally unravelling mysteries, when he could safely do so, believing himself to possess a remarkable, and indeed superhuman capacity for this function. Though suspicious and somewhat alarmed, therefore, he agreed to ride on to Gowrie House, in Perth, where the stranger was said to be confined.

Gowrie had with him a man named Henderson, whom he sent on to intimate the approach of the king, while he remained, and accompanied James in his ride to Perth after the hunt was over. When Henderson arrived, he was told to arm himself, as there was a highland depredator to be caught in the town; and somewhat to his surprise, when completely encased in armour, he was left for a long time alone in a small turret-chamber. James arrived in Gowrie House like an unexpected guest. Everything was in confusion, and it was with seeming difficulty that a meal was provided for the occasion. According to royal wont, the king fed in a chamber by himself, the attendants occupying another. Lord Gowrie left the apartment to drink a grace-cup with them, when Alexander observed to James, that now was the time to see and interrogate the mysterious prisoner. They then left the room.

Gowrie House, now demolished, stood on the bank of the Tay, near the present bridge of Perth. It was a turreted mansion, somewhat like Glamis, with long galleries and winding stairs in some of the turrets. When James was led through these long galleries to the turret-chamber, he started to find there, instead of a captive in shackles, a man in full armour, from whom Ruthven immediately took a dagger, and holding it to the king's breast, said, "You must be my prisoner—think of my father's death," or something like that, for the accounts

are both meagre and confused. James appears to have been more courageous and firm than one would have expected. He told the aggressor to unhand him and be uncovered, and then demanded what he meant. Of the two, Ruthven seems to have chiefly lost presence of mind, his thoughts becoming distracted by his critical position. At one moment he appeared determined on violence, in the next he said he must go for his brother, and left the apartment. In the confused narrative it is not known whether he remained hovering in the neighbourhood, or actually went in search of his brother. He quitted the turret-chamber, however, where James and Henderson were left together. This man seems to have been completely astounded, and to have with difficulty become aware that the man struggling with his master, instead of the highland freebooter he expected to see, was his sovereign. When they were alone he appeared inclined to aid the king if he could find how to do so. He was asked to open the window. While this went on, Alexander Ruthven re-entered the chamber and laid hands on the king, as if to gag him or commit some greater violence, crying out in his excitement, "There is no remedy."

A struggle now took place, in which James got his face towards the window, calling out "Treason," and "Help." It happened that he was both seen and heard by those who were under the highest obligations to assist him. The young Lord Lennox, his attached follower, and the rest of his train, had felt uneasy during the whole of the inexplicable affair. Being told that the king had departed for Falkland, and must be already half way across the South Inch, they leaped on their saddles to follow, and were just passing out of the courtyard, when cries were heard, and a glimpse was caught at the turret-window of the king's swollen face with a hand at his throat. Lennox, Mar, and the greater number of the royal attendants, rushed back to the main entrance; and while they were endeavouring to force their way, Sir John Ramsay, a page of the palace, acquainted with the intricacies of Gowrie House, ran quickly up a spiral stair, in a turret close beside that where the struggle was going on. He drew his dagger and stabbed Ruthven, the king crying out to strike low as he wore secret armour. Ruthven was slain and flung down stairs, and in the mean time, as one or two more attendants joined the king, the Earl of Gowrie approached fully armed, with some followers. A fierce conflict ensued in the turret-cham-

ber, in which Gowrie was killed ; while Lennox and the other attendants, who endeavoured to join the strife from another direction, were thundering at the barred doors which prevented their entrance.

While the two brothers were thus slain on the spot, the other members of the house of Ruthven were subject to a remorseless persecution on account of their mere relationship to the conspirators. Their death served to involve the affair in the deepest mystery. Nine years afterwards, a notary named Sprott, in Eyemouth, made some revelations which were supposed to have reference to the matter. They consisted chiefly of a correspondence between the Ruthvens and Logan the owner of the estate and fortalice of Restalrig, near Edinburgh. He was the proprietor also of Fast Castle, a fortress on a wild rock overlooking the German Ocean, near St Abb's Head ; and it was inferred from the correspondence that the object of the conspirators was to kidnap James and convey him to that castle. But the difficulty of accomplishing his conveyance to such a place, whether by land or water, makes the project seem extremely improbable.

Before these revelations were made, the strangeness of the whole affair, and the immediate slaughter of the two Ruthvens, caused many people to suspect that the conspiracy was a pretence by James to compass their destruction ; and the suspicion was connected with the recollection that the Ruthvens were the friends of the presbyterian party. This occasioned a bitter controversy with the clergy, for James was eager that they should give thanks for his escape, while they were disinclined to believe that he had been in danger ; and one of them, named Robert Bruce, conducted a dispute with him, in which many bitter and sarcastic insinuations were thrown out.

9. SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.—From this time no important events occurred until the union of the crowns. Queen Elizabeth could not tolerate arrangements for a successor, nor were any of her advisers very willing to meddle with the question. Yet she showed by the general tenor of her conduct, that she was alive to the vital importance of the two crowns being united under him who, according to modern notions of descent, was next heir to the throne of England, as great-great grandson of Henry VII. by his daughter the wife of James IV. The statesmen of the age and the leaders of political parties tacitly adopted the same view, and there arose no prospect of a serious opposition.

Yet when Elizabeth was evidently fast approaching the end of her days, there was of course considerable anxiety for a peaceful adjustment of the momentous question. There would be great rewards in store for him who showed his zeal by first conveying the intelligence to Holyrood ; but it was held that this ought not to be done until the ministers of the crown had deliberated on their course. Hence arrangements were made for preventing a knowledge of the queen's death from passing beyond the palace walls. Sir Robert Carey, however, who had engaged relays of horses to Edinburgh, was informed of the event by the preconcerted signal of his sister, one of the maids of honour, dropping a ring.

Elizabeth died on the 24th of March 1603, and her body was not cold ere Carey, like a true courtier, was speeding to the border. He reached Holyrood-house on the third night, making, for that period, a wonderfully rapid journey. James was awakened to receive the exciting intelligence ; but he was kept in suspense for three days, until the arrival of letters from the English privy-council acknowledging his succession. He departed to take possession of his new dominions on the 4th of April.

10. CONDITION OF SCOTLAND.—The principal internal changes which had taken place in Scotland in the century now concluded were connected with the events of history just recorded, and may be inferred from what has been already said. The Reformation, with the consequent rearrangement of the ecclesiastical system, was the chief and leading change of the age, and it was accompanied by a diminution of feudal authority, and the rise of a middle class among the people. The fantastic rules of chivalry—useful, perhaps, in earlier times—had given way before more rational motives and principles. These and other similar reforms must have been seen by those who have paid attention to the narrative of historical events. The chief matter remaining to be separately mentioned is the progress in the literature of the country.

PROGRESS OF LEARNING.—The progress of the Reformation was accompanied by a great impulse to learning in Scotland. Its most distinguished results followed the establishment of the protestant worship there ; but at the same time, it is certain that during the period when the change was in progress in Germany, many eminent Scottish scholars arose before it had advanced in their own country. Among these was one John Mair or Major, a doctor of the Sorbonne, in Paris,

who wrote some metaphysical works of great reputation on the Continent in their day. He is perhaps better known as the author of a curious book which he calls a history of Britain, though it is in reality merely a history of his native country, Scotland. David Panter or Panther, was an eminent diplomatist, and the state papers which he put into Latin were considered to be so elegantly written that they were published by a distinguished scholar of the last century. Henry Scrimgeour, a member of an ancient family in Dundee, was a learned Continental jurist, and became famous among foreign lawyers by being enabled to edit newly discovered Greek texts of the Roman law. Florence Wilson, or Florentius Volusenus, as his name has been Latinized, composed an essay on the Peace of the Mind, in imitation of Cicero, which was much admired, and went through several editions, the last being printed at Edinburgh in 1751. Hector Boece, the principal of King's College in Aberdeen, wrote a history of Scotland, which was considered a wonderful work in its time; and indeed it was so, for it is extremely amusing; but, like many books written at the same period both in Britain and on the Continent, and professing to be histories, it is full of extravagant fables.

These and many other eminent Scotsmen highly distinguished themselves in foreign countries at the time of the Reformation struggle. They all adopted the Latin, as the literary language of Europe. It was used by Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and Germans alike; but it was perhaps more essential to authors in Scotland than in any other country, because the language had by degrees become very different from that of England; and thus, writers who confined themselves to their own tongue had only Scotland as a field, while those who wrote in Latin might attract the attention of the learned, not only at home, but in England, and all over the Continent. It was, however, in George Buchanan that Latin literature in Scotland really rose to eminence; and perhaps it was because he had no opportunity of obtaining literary distinction by writing in his native tongue, that he became so illustrious as a Latin author. There has, perhaps, been no man since the days of the Roman Boethius who excelled George Buchanan in the excellence of his prose Latinity; while his translation of the psalms and other works take rank with those of Claudian and several of the minor classic poets.

Probably, owing to the example set by Buchanan, many other Scotsmen distinguished themselves as writers of Latin poetry,

and among them may be numbered Arthur and John Johnston Melville and Sir Robert Aytoun.

11. NATIONAL LITERATURE.—The most important men in the history of a country are, however, those who impart dignity, beauty, and expressiveness to its own language, rather than those who acquire reputation as imitators of the literature of a departed era. Notwithstanding the limited field which purely Scottish literature offered, with the Reformation there came a temporary impulse to the use of the vernacular tongue in writing; and Knox, in his history of the Reformation and other works, made his language so like that of his English contemporaries, that his opponents charged him with affecting the English tongue instead of using the homely Scotch. Several poets of that day altered the language in a similar direction. Sir David Lyndsay, who wrote some satirical dramas against the Romanists, was perhaps the greatest Scottish poetical genius of his age. But there were other poets of much ability, such as Sir Richard Maitland, Scott, Montgomery, Alexander Hume, and Sir Robert Aytoun. A description of a “Day Estival,” or day of summer, in the hymns and sacred songs of Alexander Hume, published in the year 1599, may be taken as a good specimen of the poetry of the period. By simply modernizing the spelling, it will be found to adapt itself very well to the notions of the present day, both in the language and the rhythm, although here and there a word is used which has now changed its sense, or is discarded from poetic use; as, for instance, the word cleanness in the following quotation, which is used to express the brilliancy of the summer firmament. The poem begins with a description of the disappearance of darkness, and the gradual lighting up of the landscape. Then the midday heat approaches, and is thus described :—

The ample heaven of fabric sure,  
In cleanness does surpass  
The crystal and the silver pure,  
And clearest polish'd glass.

The time so tranquil is and still,  
That nowhere shall ye find,  
Save on a high and barren hill,  
The air of peeping wind.

All trees and simples great and small,  
That balmy leaf do bear,  
Nor they were painted on a wall,  
No more they move or stir.

Calm is the deep and purple sea,  
 Yea smother than the sand,  
 The wells that weltering wont to be  
 Are stable like the land.

So silent is the cessile air,  
 That every cry and call,  
 The hills and dales and forest fair  
 Again repeat them all.

The rivers fresh—the caller streams  
 O'er rocks can softly rin,  
 The water clear, like crystal seems,  
 And makes a pleasant din.

The poet then goes on to describe with much truth and beauty the influence of the hot day on man, on animals, and on the inanimate objects of the surrounding landscape, until at last the “gloamin” comes—the day is spent—the sun goes out of sight; and here too there are peculiar beauties in the scene to be noticed. Thus,—

What pleasure 'twere to walk and see  
 Endlong a river clear,  
 The perfect form of every tree  
 Within the deep appear.

And then follows the conclusion, with an appropriate moral :—

All labourers draw home at even,  
 And can to others say,  
 Thanks to the gracious God of heaven  
 Whilk sent this summer day.

Sir Robert Aytoun, a courtier, whose monument may be seen in Westminster Abbey, wrote chiefly in Latin; but he left also some short vernacular poems, which, like those of Hume, are remarkable for their sweetness and melody, and the general absence of antique rudeness. The “Auld Langsyne” immortalized by Burns, seems to have been an expression of friendship and endearment in the days of Aytoun, who thus prettily idealizes it,—in some measure anticipating Burns :—

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,  
 And never thought upon,  
 The flames of love extinguished,  
 And freely past and gone.  
 Is thy kind heart now grown so cold,  
 In that loving breast of thine,  
 That thou canst never once reflect  
 On auld langsyne.

EXERCISES.

1. What was the object of Queen Elizabeth's duplicity? How was the king situated in relation to Spain? How did he act?
2. Give an account of Queen Anne. What investigations were connected, with the king's marriage? Give an account of Stewart, earl of Bothwell, and his proceedings.
3. How have Bothwell's proceedings been associated with the religious disputes? Give an account of the act of 1592. What suspicions were created against the king? How were they justified?
4. Give an account of the affair of the Spanish blanks. What was rumoured from the north? Give an account of the battle of Glenlivet.
5. How did discussions arise between the king and the clergy? What body sat in Edinburgh? Give an account of the affair with Black. Who were the Octavians?
6. Describe the method in which a tumult broke out in Edinburgh. How did the king meet it? How did he act afterwards?
7. What steps were taken to gain over the clergy? What was the general difference in opinion between those of the south and those of the north? What steps were adopted for the parliamentary representation of the church? What was said of them?
8. What event occurred at Aberdeen? Give an account of the Gowrie conspiracy. How did a controversy arise from it?
9. How did Elizabeth act in her latter days? How was the account of her death conveyed to James? In what year did he succeed to the throne of England?
10. What were the principal changes in the condition of Scotland before the union of the crowns? Give the names of some distinguished Scottish scholars. Who was the most eminent of the Latin authors?
11. What temporary influence was given to vernacular literature? Give the names of some authors who wrote in their own language. Give an account of a poem published near the end of the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE BEGINNING OF  
"THE TROUBLES," A.D. 1603—1637.

*Nature of the Union—The King in his new Dominions—Reciprocity of Privileges—Projects of Ecclesiastical Conformity—Assembly of Aberdeen—Parliament of 1606—Melville and the Ecclesiastical Conference—Court of High Commission—Execution of Ogilvie—The King's Visit—Articles of Perth—Charles I.—The Aristocracy and Ecclesiastical Property—Parliament and Coronation—Canons and Service-book—The Outbreak.*

1. NATURE OF THE UNION.—The accession of King James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne of England, when he assumed the title of James I., had a tendency to alter the tenor of the history of Scotland, in a manner which will appear pretty



obvious. The change is so great, that some have considered the history to stop at this point, as if the country and the people living in it ceased to be of any importance when the monarch's authority was no longer confined within its former limits. In some measure, it is true, the annals of Scotland do not require, after the union of the crowns, to be recounted with the minuteness adopted in the preceding portion: but this does not arise so much from the inferior importance of the events, as from the fact that they are recorded along with those of England in the history of Great Britain, and need not be twice perused.

England being the larger country and the seat of government, it has naturally happened that its history has been written more amply and frequently than that of Scotland; and therefore in those matters in which both acted together as kingdoms under the same monarch, the narrative of events having been related by the historians of one, does not require to be repeated in reference to the other.

The two countries being at amity, there will be no longer occasion to show how the Scottish government was naturally attracted by that of France, so that they might assist each other against the common enemy, or how the intrigues of the French were counteracted by the efforts of the English. The marriages of the sovereigns and their children become no longer a matter of special importance to Scotland, since they are not adjusted for the purpose of conciliating England, or of forming a strong alliance against her. The English monarch has no longer occasion to harbour Scottish refugees, who may aid him in injuring their native land; nor is there any inducement to the King of Scotland to shelter and encourage an aspirant to the throne of England. Intriguers from the English court have for the same reason no more opportunities of exciting the borderers, the highland chiefs, or other restless and turbulent portions of the people to revolt.

While thus of the large class of the events which contribute to make history, many have no longer to be recorded in relation to Scotland as a separate state, and also in the history of the country there are others which, as they cease to happen, cannot be narrated, yet those which remain are not less important, though they may be of less frequent occurrence.

It must be remembered, that until the incorporating union of 1707, Scotland was still a separate kingdom and state, having its own legislation and government. In fact, it had

in no way been altered, except that the King of Scotland was also King of England. It might be said that Scotland had lent a king to England in her moment of need, for James was not the less bound to perform his duties as a monarch according to the constitutional rights of the Scottish people, after he had ascended the English throne. At the same time, the two kingdoms might have contending interests, and he could not well lead one of them to a war against the other. It was deemed by some, that the accession of one king to both thrones rendered such an event impossible, and few denied that it was thus rendered improbable. But still it might happen; and the position of the countries would then be awkward, for that the smaller should dictate to the larger was preposterous, even if it was possible; and yet it might cause gross tyranny, if the larger coerced the smaller. Out of such matters we shall find that there arose critical and interesting disputes between the two kingdoms, so that the union of the crowns did not make them entirely one. The peculiar constitution of Scotland, the national habits of the people, and the fierce ecclesiastical contests, still left a considerable quantity of historical detail peculiar to that country.

2. THE KING IN HIS NEW DOMINIONS.—James proceeded to take possession of his new dominions with much exultation. The feeling in favour of his accession so preponderated in England, that no party ventured to oppose it. Thus it appeared, that the church looked to him for support, as he had shown himself the friend of episcopacy in Scotland; while the puritans and other nonconformists seem to have thought that a king who had reigned over presbyterians could not be a bitter enemy to them. The Roman-catholic party, subdued in spirit since the destruction of the Armada, had no means of separate action, and had little inducement to attempt any desperate effort on the accession of James, since they were not without hope that he was their friend.

He was conveyed to London in a gorgeous procession, forming one of the royal progresses, which occasionally drained away the wealth of the great English nobility. Everything was novel and magnificent, and he had the happiness of knowing that he was not a mere humble spectator, obtaining a sight of the grand pageantry, but the lord of all, and one whose smile was everything to the most wealthy peer who entertained him. To understand his position, it must be remembered, that he had seen nothing beyond his native country, ex-

cept when he made his romantic journey to Denmark, and that his own palaces at home were not provided with the ample luxuries to be found in the houses of the English nobles.

Besides the great wealth and means of enjoyment at his disposal, he felt his office of sovereign more fully respected. In England, the laws had taken a distinct and clear course, which protected the rights of the subject as well as the prerogatives of the crown. Thus, while in Scotland the king was liable to perpetual attacks by turbulent leaders, in England his person was sacred from outrage, and everything around him breathed of power, magnificence, and repose. James, however, made an utter miscalculation when he supposed that the homage and adulation with which he was received by the courtiers indicated the English to be a submissive and docile people, whom he might treat as he pleased. They paid an almost oriental homage and veneration to his sovereignty; but they expected him, on the other hand, to respect their constitutional rights; and his reckless violation of them was one of the causes which led to the disasters in the reign of his son.

RECIPROCITY OF PRIVILEGES.—Among the earliest matters which had to be adjusted under the union of the crowns, was the several rights and obligations of the inhabitants of the two countries. It was at first supposed that an incorporation of the two nations into one might be accomplished, but differences had not been sufficiently reconciled to enable such a desirable object to be carried out; nor were the people so far advanced in civilisation as to be conscious of its blessings. It is perhaps well for the present generation that no union was completed until a time arrived when it could be made real and effective.

All that was accomplished in the meantime was the removal from the statute-books of the two nations of those laws which placed the one in hostility to the other. In the English courts of law, the important question was considered how far people born in Scotland had the rights and privileges of Englishmen. This was of course a far more important question than the converse as to the rights of Englishmen in Scotland. The inhabitants of the poorer naturally flocked to the richer country in search of employment and the means of living, as we see the Irish come to this country at the present day. That the King of England was a Scotsman, of course naturally excited high expectations in those who could establish any court connexion; and a multitude of the needy aris-

toocracy of Scotland swarmed southwards to hang on and wait for court interest. Although the king offended his new subjects by the extent to which he advanced these followers from the north, yet he could not provide for more than a small proportion of them. The others, who counted themselves among the gentry, and were too proud to work, infested London, where they formed an addition to the number of dissolute and dangerous men always assembled in that city.

When the question as to what rights were possessed by these strangers in England was discussed by the judges, they found that those Scotsmen born before the union of the crowns could not be considered in England as English subjects, and could only be looked upon as friendly aliens. Thus there were many offices which they could not hold; they could not obtain English peerages; nor could they elect or be elected members of parliament. The *Postnati*, however, as they were termed—those born after the accession, were said to be born under the allegiance of the King of England, and to be the same in every respect as Englishmen in England. The result of this was, that the people of the two countries came to be gradually amalgamated, and that the new generation grew up in the knowledge that they were citizens, not of England or Scotland alone, but of Britain and Ireland.

3. PROJECTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL CONFORMITY.—It was a great gratification to James to find that he was head of the magnificent establishment of the Church of England, and that his authority was neither counteracted by a pope on the one hand, nor by presbyterial meetings of the clergy on the other. In England there was a considerable number of presbyterians and other dissenters, who received the general name of puritans. Between the representatives of this body on the one hand, and some of the bishops on the other, a conference was held at Hampton Court; its avowed object being if possible to accomplish a reconciliation between them on some points of difference, but the real object was to show the superiority of episcopacy, that the king might find support in extending it more fully to Scotland. Accordingly, he did not conceal his dislike of the presbyterians and their system. He exclaimed: "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet and censure me and my council. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand it; and then, if you find me grown pursy and fat, I may perhaps

hearken unto you ; for that government will keep me in breath and give me work enough." The idea that he should grapple with the hard work, after he got old, pursy, and fat, was not very logical, but his enmity to the Scottish presbyterian system was sufficiently distinct.

ASSEMBLY OF ABERDEEN.—Accordingly active measures were now taken for the suppression of what remained of presbyterianism, and the completion of the episcopalian system so far already advanced. The general assemblies were prorogued from time to time, and the clergy began to suspect that they would soon cease altogether. A considerable number of those more zealous for independence, having gone to Aberdeen to hold an assembly, refused to obey the prorogation, and elected a moderator. They did not then transact any farther business, but the moderator appointed a day for reassembling, and then the meeting dispersed. Although many of the ministers were prosecuted for participation in this assembly, the clergy steadfastly denied the right of the privy-council to adjudicate on such questions, and maintained that they were responsible only to their own brethren in general assembly. As the result of a vigorous prosecution, some of them were banished and found refuge among the protestant congregations in the Netherlands ; while others were sent to distant parts of the country, and prohibited from meeting together. This rigour, however, rather fed than appeased the flame, and the oppressed brethren, as they were held to be, were extensively applauded from the pulpits of their colleagues.

4. THE PARLIAMENT OF 1606 commenced with a declaration of the king's absolute authority over all persons ecclesiastical as well as lay, and then proceeded to complete the restoration of episcopacy to something like its old power. The bishops, as we have found them restored with the caveats, were still deficient in a quality essential to their order—a proper revenue to preserve a state above that of the other clergy. It was asserted that they were poor, neglected, and despised, and an act of parliament was passed for a restitution of such of their temporalities as were available. The great difficulty in getting back any of the church lands which had been annexed was, that they had passed into the hands of the aristocracy, whose gripe could not be easily unloosed, and who would instantly be up in arms in favour of the presbyterian system, if its fall should in any way touch their own estates. The plan adopted was to make them more secure than they were in the

possession of a portion of their spoil. Some of the richest of the annexed ecclesiastical estates had belonged not to the clergy properly so called, but to the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, and these had nearly all found their way into the hands of private owners, or "Lords of Erection." The somewhat uncertain titles by which they were held were accordingly made secure and permanent. In some instances only, the estates of the bishoprics had also been conveyed away, and with respect to these a medium course was taken, the bishops renewing the rights thus held, on receiving a consideration for doing so.

MELVILLE AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONFERENCE.—The bishops had been restored to their parliamentary powers, and they were now invested in their lordships: it still remained to accomplish the more difficult task of giving them authority within the church. The presbyterian clergy had vehemently solicited parliament to reject the restoration of the bishops' temporalities, and prepared themselves to struggle against the restoration of their authority. The king summoned a conference of the Scottish ecclesiastics, after the example of the English Hampton conference. It was attended by five of the new Scottish prelates, including the two archbishops; and on the other side by the two Melvilles, Andrew and his nephew James, the leaders of the presbyterians, and some of their fellow-clergymen. The assembly at Aberdeen was denounced by the king and the bishops; while the presbyterian party demanded a reference of all questions to a free general assembly. Melville and his friends were closely pressed by questions and examinations, until the proceedings towards them assumed an inquisitorial character. The old man, who had sat at the feet of Knox and imbibed his hardy sentiments, lost his temper; and it is said, that grasping the robes of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he shook them with angry contempt, denouncing them as "Romish rags." Whether he acted thus or not, it is certain that he wrote a clever Latin epigram, in which he applied to the ceremonies of the Church of England some of those denunciations of Scripture which are frequently held to apply to the Church of Rome. For this he was imprisoned four years in the Tower, and his nephew was required to reside at Berwick, according to a common practice, by which a man was punished by being compelled to live in some place different from that in which it was agreeable or convenient for him to dwell. These proceedings were followed by a con-

vention of the clergy at Linlithgow, so arranged as to show a majority for the king; and then the steps were taken of giving the bishops ecclesiastical authority by making them permanent moderators of the presbyteries within their dioceses.

5. COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION.—If this function was not sufficient to give them the full powers of a hierarchy, they obtained ample authority in the year 1610, when two High Courts of Commission were erected, the one attached to St Andrews, the other to Glasgow. At the head of each was the archbishop of the province. Tribunals of this name and character have ever been unpopular both in England and Scotland. Though avowedly empowered to judge on ecclesiastical matters only, they have been apt to stretch their prerogative beyond its nominal bounds; while the method of their procedure, even when keeping within them, was deemed harsh and inquisitorial. Even in the ordinary courts of justice, presided over by men who have studied the law from their youth, and are accustomed to understand that it should be impartially administered, there will often in evil times be injustice and persecution. But when church officers or religious bodies are invested with judicial powers, persecution is inevitable, because, believing their own to be the only true religion, and being supplied with powers of coercion, they will naturally persecute all who differ in opinion from them. However amiable and honest might be the character of the men who belonged to the Courts of High Commission, they thus could not avoid the charges of cruelty and oppression; and of course the circumstance that a large portion, if not the majority, of the population was opposed to them in religion and views of church government, only gave them a greater amount of oppressive work to carry out.

A general assembly was held at Glasgow in 1610, when the court found means of obtaining a formal consent to the new ecclesiastical organization. For a few years afterwards there were no more ostensible steps; but a deep feud was settling itself between the court with the episcopal portion of the clergy, and the large body who adhered to the presbyterian system.

EXECUTION OF OGILVIE.—In the meantime, as if to show that the government was impartial, and determined to punish any ecclesiastical body asserting its independence, a Roman-  
 A. D. } catholic priest named Ogilvie was executed. It has  
 1615. } been said, and with truth, that this is the only instance

in which a person of that persuasion has in Scotland been put to death for his creed alone, and without being connected with some political attempts. Nominally, indeed, it was not so much for religious opinion as for denying the king's supremacy that he was punished, the charge against him being for "declining the king's authority, alleging the supremacy of the pope, hearing and saying mass, &c." He pointed out a parallel between his own position and that of the independent presbyterian divines, saying, "For the declining of the king's authority I will do it still in matters of religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do; neither have I done anything but that which the ministers did at Dundee: they would not acknowledge his majesty's authority in spiritual matters more than I; and the best ministers of the land are still of that mind, and if they are wise will continue so." He met his fate with firmness, maintaining his opinions to the last.

6. THE KING'S VISIT.—King James in the year 1617 paid a visit to his ancient dominions, where he was received with great rejoicing. In a progress among the principal towns and the universities, he was indulged with many flattering displays of learning in Latin orations and eulogistic verses.

But the opportunity was taken for the transaction of far more important business. It might be supposed that after so many steps the episcopal hierarchy had been completely restored. The power of sitting in parliament had been given to some of the clergy in the first instance. Then they obtained the name of bishops; then they had revenues set apart for them; by the next step they were formally consecrated; and, lastly they received authority over the presbyteries within their dioceses, and great powers in the Court of High Commission. But there was yet something necessary to complete the system, for the church courts still consisted of the kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly, according to the presbyterian model; and although these courts had been gradually shorn of their power, yet no corresponding hierarchy had been created to adjust itself to the government by bishops. The prelates were like monarchs set over republics, with no gradation of rank. Therefore, to complete the restoration, a parliament, which assembled on the 28th of June 1617, passed two acts—the one for establishing a dean and chapter in connexion with each diocese or bishopric, and the other for regulating the election of bishops by the chapters, with the royal assent.



**ARTICLES OF PERTH.**—The structure of the hierarchy seemed now complete. But there was still something wanting, for in the churches in Scotland either no liturgy was used, or the simple form of service established by Knox was still followed. The monarch and his episcopal friends desired that the more elaborate forms of the Church of England should be adopted, and that at the same time the practices of that church in other important matters should be transferred to Scotland. As a first step in this part of the religious revolution, five articles were passed by a convocation, or assembly of the clergy, held A. D. } at Perth, and presided over by the Archbishop of St  
1618. } Andrews. These propositions, which occupy a conspicuous position in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, are called the Five Articles of Perth.

These articles were—1st, That the eucharist or communion should be received in a kneeling posture. 2d, That it might be administered in private to persons in extreme sickness. 3d, That baptism might be administered in private if necessary. 4th, That confirmation should be bestowed on the young at the hands of the bishop. The fifth appointed the commemoration of Christmas or the birth of Christ, the resurrection, the ascension, and other annual festivals. These articles were confirmed in parliament. It will easily be seen from their nature that to those who had adopted presbyterian principles they must have been very offensive; but to describe more particularly the grounds of difference might carry us beyond the proper bounds of an elementary history.

7. **CHARLES I.**—King James died on the 25th of March 1625, and was succeeded by his son, the unfortunate Charles I. It by no means improved the position of the presbyterians that he was a man of more correct moral life than his father, and more sincerely religious, since the religion to which he was attached was that of the Church of England, or rather that of the party in the church which leaned most towards Romanism. The aristocracy found that they had far more to dread from his zeal for religion than from the less earnest views of the late king. A disposition was shown to increase the influence of the churchmen in civil affairs. They were gradually introduced to the judicial offices; and at last Archbishop Spotswood, the head of the church, was also made the head of the state as lord high chancellor.

**THE ARISTOCRACY AND ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.**—The lay aristocracy were disgusted by observing the ascendancy

of the priests in the distribution of offices, but they found at the same time that their more substantial interests were in imminent danger. An attempt was to be made to recover for the high dignitaries of the church those estates formerly belonging to ecclesiastical bodies, and which, as already mentioned, were supposed to have been effectually secured to their lay owners by act of parliament. For the purpose of giving this project a gradual commencement, an arrangement was made for privately purchasing the abbey lands of Arbroath from the Marquess of Hamilton, and the estates of religious houses in Glasgow belonging to the Duke of Lennox; and the transaction was to appear as if these noblemen had voluntarily and gratuitously surrendered the estates as a good example to others.

Of the tithes, or tenth part of the produce of estates, which the clergy had drawn before the Reformation, in imitation of the Levitical law, the landlords naturally took possession—in other words, they ceased to allow the deduction to be made from their incomes. A portion, but only a portion, had, as we have seen, been extorted from them for the support of the protestant clergy. King Charles the First obtained a more favourable adjustment by getting himself appointed arbiter between the contending interests. It had been his intention, however, to extract an unconditional surrender of the tithes, and Lord Nithsdale had instructions to deal with parliament for the accomplishment of that object. To his dismay he learned that so determined were the members not to surrender this right, that if an attempt were made to carry the measure, they would fall on him and his supporters, and slay them within the walls of the house. The aged Lord Belhaven, who was decrepit and blind, kept his hand on the shoulder of a member of the government as if for the sake of support, but in reality that he might stab at least one of its promoters if the offensive measure should be brought forward. Under appearances so menacing it was deemed necessary to abandon the project. But the suspicions of the landed gentry were effectually roused. Men prepared for such violence were not scrupulous about employing other means to obtain their ends, and thus it happened that they were ready to make common cause with the clergy and their humble followers, with whom only a few of them had much real sympathy.

8. PARLIAMENT AND CORONATION.—In 1633, King Charles made a visit to Scotland, and held a parliament in the great

hall, with its rich oaken roof, then newly built, and still known in Edinburgh as the Parliament House. Had he been a wise king, he would have seen the danger of meddling with the religion of the people, but he was engrossed with his views of ecclesiastical conformity, and only studied how they could be best carried out. He left an unpleasant memorial of his intentions in creating a new bishopric—the diocese of Edinburgh. At the same time, he endeavoured to make the parliament more subservient to the royal will, by the method of selecting the Lords of the Articles, or the committee by whom the practical business of parliament was transacted. They ought to have been freely appointed by the several Estates, but encroachments had been gradually made on the proper method of selection, and now the plan adopted was for the government to choose so many prelates, who appointed the nobles; and then, these together elected the commoners, who were to act along with them as the committee of the articles.

The opportunity of the visit was taken for the formal coronation of the king, which was performed with great episcopal pomp. The ceremonies were conducted under the auspices of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, whose ascendancy over the king's mind was becoming alarmingly perceptible. The Church of England was then, as it has been in later times, divided into two parties, of which it may be said, that the one leaned towards the Church of Rome and the other towards the presbyterian system. At the head of the former, or high church party, were Laud, and Wren bishop of Ely, the brother of the celebrated architect of St Paul's.

**CANONS AND SERVICE-BOOK.**—It was resolved to prepare two important works for the Church of Scotland,—the one a set of canons or ecclesiastical laws, the other a liturgy or service-book. In their preparation Laud and Wren were consulted, and, following up their principles, they took the opportunity of making both productions more Romish in their character than the corresponding laws and prayer-book of the Church of England.

It was in the instance of the service-book that their efforts were most likely to come under public notice, since it presented a form to be used in all congregations. This contained double matter of offence,—first, that it outraged the religious views of a large proportion of the people, who were presbyterians; and, secondly, that it was drawn up in England, and appeared to be forced on Scotland by her powerful and op-

pressive neighbour. A strong excitement pervaded the public mind when it was known that this formula was in preparation, and might be expected soon to be put in use. The king's lay advisers in Scotland, and even some of the prelates, warned him to desist from the attempt, but in vain.

9. THE OUTBREAK.—On Sunday the 16th of July 1637, it was announced from the pulpit in Edinburgh, that on the ensuing Sunday (the 23d) the service-book would be used in all the churches. On that memorable day the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh proceeded to the church of St Giles in great pomp, attended by a number of the judges and officers of state; while another portion of them accompanied by the Bishop of Argyll, who was to inaugurate the service-book in the church of the Grey Friars. The dean mounted the pulpit in St Giles's before a crowded but by no means a sympathetic congregation, whose ominous looks deepened into outcries and violence as the service went on. At that time it was usual for the congregation to sit on fauld stools, or folding stools, such as are now used by invalids for rest in walking. According to an anecdote often repeated, a certain elderly woman called Jenny Geddes, who kept a huxter's stall in the High Street, unable to retain her temper, threw her fauld stool at the dean's head, crying out, "Thou false thief—dost thou say the mass at my very lug!" When men in great numbers are charged, as it were, with the elements of violence, some such petty incident is the spark that ignites them. Throughout both England and Scotland there was at that time a deep discontent preparing for action, and the flinging of Jenny Geddes's stool was the first act in one of the most memorable conflicts and social revolutions which the history of the world records. After the dean had been thus assailed, the bishop mounted the pulpit, hoping to inspire respect; but his pontifical robes only increased the indignation, the people crying out, "A pope, a pope—Anti-christ—stone him, stone him." Both he and the Bishop of Argyll were assailed by the mob when passing home through the streets, and were with difficulty rescued.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Mention two departments in which the history necessarily becomes less full after the union of the crowns. What class of events still remained of importance as Scottish history?

2. What reception did King James receive in England? What kind of notions did his reception give him? Mention one of the earliest matters to be adjusted between the nations. Give an account of the question of the *Postnati*.

3. What peculiarity of his new dominions gratified the king? What conference was held at Hampton Court? Give an account of the assembly at Aberdeen.

4. How did the parliament of 1606 commence? What arrangement was made about church lands? Give an account of the dispute with Melville. What occurred at Linlithgow?

5. What new courts were constituted? Explain the peculiar nature of courts of ecclesiastical commission. Narrate the case of Ogilvie the Jesuit.

6. What occurred in the year 1617? Mention the different steps that had been taken towards episcopacy. State what remained and was accomplished in 1617? What took place at Perth?

7. What is the date of the accession of Charles I.? What was the character of his reign? What alarmed the aristocracy? Mention a scene that occurred in parliament.

8. When did the king hold a parliament? What new ecclesiastical office did he create? What was remarkable about his coronation? What were the canons and service-book?

9. When was the attempt made to introduce the service-book? Give an account of the scene.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF "THE TROUBLES" TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF RIPON, A. D. 1640.

Organization—The Tables—The Covenant—Temporizing Policy—Glasgow Assembly—Covenanting Army—The fortified Places—Montrose and the Northern Episcopalians—Trot of Turriff—Collision on the Border—Pacification of Berwick—A General Assembly—A Parliament—Reorganization of the Army—Understandings with the English Opposition—Invasion of England—Treaty of Ripon—The Scottish Commissioners in London.

1. ORGANIZATION—THE TABLES.—There was at that time little communication between London and Scotland; so that English politicians were not acquainted with the discontents of the people, or with the outbreak which so strikingly showed its extent. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "there was so little curiosity, either in the court or the country, to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any Gazette."

After the usual interval had elapsed, there came instructions from the king for the more rigorous enforcement of the law, as if the affair had merely been a petty tumult. It was observed, however, that though the humblest class of citizens only had

taken part in the first outbreak, they were afterwards joined in their tumultuous assemblies by others of a higher rank. Some were zealous for the presbyterian cause, and many perceived that the time had come when a blow might be struck for the protection of their ecclesiastical estates and titles, which they had good reason to suspect that the king would transfer to his favourite hierarchy whenever he could safely do so. Crowds of the landed gentry and their retainers flocked to Edinburgh. There they formed themselves into a set of committees containing representatives from the nobility, the lesser barons, the burgesses, and the clergy. They took the name of the Tables, and were in reality a parliament, though they did not profess to have legislative power, but only to protect the interests of the community and of the presbyterian religion. The representations to the king were made in the humble form of supplications, whence the party were called Supplicants; but they soon obtained the name of Covenanters, from a document of a different character.

THE COVENANT.—This was a renewal of the Confession of Faith as it had been adopted more than once in the reign of King James, with considerable amendments and additions, applicable to the occasion, prepared by Alexander Henderson, who was the leader of the presbyterian party among the clergy, and Johnston of Warriston, an able lawyer, and a zealous supporter of the same principles. While binding those who subscribed it to stand fast by each other in protesting against innovation and protecting the true religion, this document professed the utmost loyalty and reverence towards the king; and it did not yet contain the engagements for the active suppression of prelacy, and all erroneous forms and opinions afterwards added to it, when it was made the Solemn League and Covenant. It was first presented for the signature of the citizens of Edinburgh in the Greyfriars churchyard, and afterwards signed by thousands throughout the country. Copies of it may still be seen, all containing at the commencement the same signatures, which were those of the principal men of rank. They were appended to each copy to induce others to sign, as the names of the principal patrons of a charity sometimes appear at the present day on the lists handed about. The first and most conspicuous name in all these copies is generally that of the young Earl of Montrose, who, then in his twenty-fifth year, was as ardent in supporting the covenant as he afterwards was in attacking its friends.

2. TEMPORIZING POLICY.—Meanwhile the king was by no means warmly seconded by the ministry in Scotland. The Marquess of Hamilton was sent with great pomp as commissioner; and when he arrived he was met by so large and well-organized a body, that he felt it would be useless to attempt to carry the king's views by force, were he inclined to aid them, which was doubted. Charles, from the information which he received, deemed it necessary to temporize; but he did so in such a manner as to create distrust rather than reliance on his intentions. He empowered Hamilton to call a parliament and general assembly, and to consent to the recall of the canons, the liturgy, and the court of high commission, and even to the suspension of the Articles of Perth. He offered to subscribe the Confession of Faith, accompanied with an obligation to maintain the true religion "*as professed at present.*" This, however it was intended, was suspected to be a subterfuge, which, when he became sufficiently strong, would enable him to support episcopacy as the religion still professed. Determined and suspicious, the covenanting party would accept of no compromise, but resolved to proceed to the reconstruction of a complete presbyterian system.

GLASGOW ASSEMBLY.—The promised general assembly was held in the great cathedral church of Glasgow amidst very exciting circumstances. The covenanting party of course naturally made arrangements to obtain a preponderance in this assembly, which they viewed not as an impartial tribunal to decide between themselves and the bishops, but as a triumphant manifestation of their own strength. A general charge was made against the bishops, in which they were accused not only of ecclesiastical offences, but of leading irregular lives, and usurping tyrannical power. They gave in a declinature or protest against the power of the assembly to sit in judgment on them; but the members, scarcely deigning to notice this attempt, proceeded to adopt the strongest measures, when Hamilton, acting on the instructions which he had received, proclaimed that the assembly was dissolved. This act appeared only to increase their vigour and enthusiasm. They remained together for several days, during which they repealed the acts of the several preceding assemblies, which had, by elaborate degrees, built up the fabric of episcopacy. They sat in solemn judgment on the bishops, of whom two, who submitted to their authority, were merely suspended from their functions, but the others were deposed;

and some of them, more offensive than the others, were excommunicated.

3. COVENANTING ARMY.—In the meantime the Tables made arrangements for embodying an army, and held correspondence with war committees in the districts attached to the cause of the covenant. Both the gentry and the common people—each with their own motives—were enthusiastic in the cause, and were zealously aided by the clergy. All co-operated with wonderful unanimity, energy, and ability; and with unexampled rapidity troops were embodied, with funds for their support. Among the Scotsmen serving abroad in the armies of Gustavus and other protestant leaders, many well-trained officers were found, foremost among whom was the venerable David Leslie, who, though a little old insignificant-looking man, possessed the energy and skill adapted for the occasion, and became the commander-in-chief of the army of the covenant. The necessary supplies were raised by loans and subscriptions, and sometimes in the shape of articles of food and clothing. There was little ready money at that time in Scotland; but the deficiency was made up by Richelieu, then prime minister of France, whose policy it suited to weaken the power of Charles I.

THE FORTIFIED PLACES in the south of Scotland, including Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles, were seized by the covenanters without the cost of a life, and so easily that their governors cannot be supposed to have seriously desired to preserve them. Changes were now, however, making progress in the art of fortification. The castle perched on a rock might be very unapproachable, but it could do little injury to an invading army. For this purpose long low ramparts, the guns of which were fired more nearly on a line with the ground, were found to be more destructive to the enemy, and therefore more effective. The covenanters, aware of this change in the art of war, and hearing that the first great object of an army sent against them would be the seizure of the port of Leith, built a strong line of works for its protection,—a service in which the most enthusiastic of the gentry, and even their wives and daughters, took an active part.

4. MONTROSE AND THE NORTHERN EPISCOPALIANS.—It has been mentioned already, that in the north of Scotland a partiality for episcopacy predominated. Its headquarters were in Aberdeen, the capital of the northern lowlands. This city had a considerable trade, while, as the seat of two universities, it was



the chief centre of learning north of the Tay ; and what was perhaps of more importance in that age, it was the place where the great landowners of the district, such as the Marquess of Huntly and the Earl Marischal, had their town-houses, as the nobility of the present day have theirs in London. The Aberdeen doctors, as the episcopal clergy there were called, carried on a bitter controversy with the leaders of the covenanters. As, undoubtedly, the Gordons, and other northern families opposed to the covenant, would there concentrate their forces, the Tables resolved to transfer the controversy from the pen to the sword. The zealous young commander Montrose, with a force of about nine thousand men, was employed for the accomplishment of this object. His method of warfare consisted in bold projects and rapid marches ; and before any arrangements had been made to intercept him, he alighted, as if from the clouds, in the centre of the Gordon country, in full force. The covenanters marched, unresisted, into Aberdeen, where they were joined by such of the citizens and the neighbouring gentry as adopted their cause. The doctors and the most active of the cavalier party had now to flee or hide themselves. The pulpits were occupied by the covenanting clergy, who denounced the city, comparing it to Meroz, " which came not to help the Lord against the mighty." Such of the principal citizens as remained in the town were called together, and required to sign the covenant, being threatened with heavy penalties if they refused to do so. The Marquess of Huntly, the leader of the cavaliers, was taken southwards by Montrose as a hostage.

TROT OF TURRIFF.—It happened that soon after Montrose had left Aberdeen arrangements were made for a meeting of  
 25th May } the supporters of the covenant in the village of Tur-  
 1639. } riff, near Banff. The retainers of the Gordon family and other cavalier chiefs were numerous in the neighbourhood, and, gathering in an armed body, they fell by surprise on the covenanters, who, not expecting to be so sharply attacked, were instantly routed. This incident received the name of "The Trot of Turriff," and, trifling as it is in itself, derives some importance as the first actual conflict in the great civil war. The exulting victors in the "Trot of Turriff" made their way to Aberdeen, where, joined by their friends among the citizens, they triumphed for a time over the covenanters. Their exultation, however, was but short, for Montrose in a few days returned in force, and laid a heavy penalty on the city as a punish-

ment for its lapse. Some cavalier historians say that the inhabitants were pillaged and treated with severity on this occasion. The principal act of enmity which they distinctly record, however, is a great slaughter of street dogs, arising in this manner. As blue was the colour selected for the badge of the covenanters, and many of them wore ribbons of that hue, the cavalier ladies, in the temporary triumph of their party, fixed similar badges on their dogs, in scorn of their enemies, who, when they returned, slaughtered the poor animals which they saw thus contemptuously decorated running about the streets.

Montrose then passed northwards to besiege the old tower of Gight, belonging to one of the gentlemen of the house of Gordon. While he was there, the Viscount Aboyne, the eldest son of the captive Marquess of Huntly, arrived in the harbour of Aberdeen with a royal commission and three vessels, while his brother, Lord Lewis Gordon, brought a considerable force by land to join him. Montrose appearing, for some reason known to himself, to decline a conflict by a march to the westward of Aberdeen, and thence to the county of Angus, Lord Lewis Gordon had the temerity to follow and attack him, but was sharply repulsed. On his retreat, he endeavoured to hold out the bridge of seven arches built across the Dee, and fortified as bridges at that time usually were. After being for some time baffled, Montrose, professing to attempt to ford the river farther up, diverted the attention of the defenders of the bridge, and then falling on it with his usual impetuosity, carried it. He now for the third time entered Aberdeen, and imposed a farther penalty on the citizens. He paid the city a fourth visit some years afterwards, but in a very different capacity.

5. COLLISION ON THE BORDER.—While these events were occurring to the north of the Grampians, others of greater moment were going on in the southern part of Scotland. The Marquess of Hamilton was appointed to command a fleet, containing troops to be landed at Leith, so that they might march to Edinburgh. The preparations which he there found, however, deterred him from the attempt; and he was obliged, since he could find no other landing-place, to disperse his troops on Inchkeith, and the other islands of the Frith of Forth, to save them from a miserable death, which would have been their fate if they had remained long in such vessels as at that time were used for transports. Hamilton was charged with a treacherous design to protract the conflict, so that in the course of chances

the crown might eventually fall to himself as the next heir after the House of Stuart. His expedition was intended to form an auxiliary force to a brilliant host commanded by the king in person. Charles marched northwards at the head of an army reckoned upwards of twenty thousand strong; but they were assembled rather as a customary feudal pageant than for the purpose of fighting. He was beginning to feel the effects of his disputes with his English subjects, who were resisting arbitrary taxation, while he was unwilling to put himself in the hands of the house of commons by summoning them to grant supplies in the usual manner. Money was now becoming the main sinew of war, and its deficiency was the cause of the inefficient operations of the forces brought against the Scots. A fleet accompanied the army, and, commanded by Hamilton, sailed up the Frith of Forth. The defences of Leith, however, had rendered its main object impracticable, and the ships cruised idly about the Frith.

The army or feudal array at the same time advanced to Berwick. The king, whose notions of divine right had not yet received any formidable check, issued a haughty proclamation, dictating terms to the covenanting army, and specifying the conditions to which they were to be subjected, as if he had them already at his mercy. A party of horse were sent to publish the proclamation at Kelso; but they were attacked so unexpectedly and vigorously by a body of covenanters, that they fled with precipitation back to their army. This incident raised the enthusiasm of the Scots, and their force increased until it exceeded that of the king, while it was far more ardent and effective. The whole seemed like a revival of the ancient hostile spirit between the two nations; for the covenanters spoke of themselves as the opponents of English interference with their national affairs, not as subjects who had taken arms against their king. They professed still to hold him as their most gracious monarch, who had their interests sincerely at heart. They made their applications to him in the humble form of supplicants, though they came from a powerful army with which he was unable to cope; and their position has been compared to that of the beggar in the Spanish novel, who used to sit by the wayside, imploring the passing traveller very humbly for alms, but at the same time presenting a pistol, the more effectually to remind him of the virtue of charity.

6. PACIFICATION OF BERWICK.—The king, embarrassed by

the state of matters both in England and Ireland, found himself utterly unable to encounter the Scots army with the hope of success, and a defeat would have been disastrous. In these circumstances he took advantage of their deferential attitude, and professed in his royal clemency to give a favourable ear to their solicitations. The Scots sent commissioners to Berwick, who met there the English general, Lord Arundel, and his principal officers. It was deemed desirable to adopt a treaty in distinct terms, as if it were between the representatives of two independent powers, and while they were discussing its terms, the king entered the tent. He expressed his gracious desire to make suitable concessions, but at the same time avowed, that he could not as a sovereign prince appear to treat with his subjects like one independent state with another. He begged therefore that matters should be left in an indefinite condition, the Scots trusting to his princely intention to grant their requests. The latter prayed that the steps taken for the restoration of the presbyterian system, and especially the proceedings of the general assembly, should be confirmed. The king, however, considered that this would be derogatory to his dignity, and desired the whole business to be referred to a new general assembly and parliament. The Scots commissioners consented to this arrangement, under the impression that it was entered on in order to enable the king to grant their demands consistently with his notions of his own honour. There was no authentic written statement prepared of this arrangement, known as the "Pacification of Berwick," and

18th June }  
1639. } the two parties charged each other with violating its understood terms.

A GENERAL ASSEMBLY was immediately held in Edinburgh, and there, to gratify the king's scruples about his dignity as a monarch, the proceedings of the assembly of 1638, held contrary to his consent, were not referred to, but its acts were virtually re-enacted. By one of its provisions the signing of the Confession of Faith was to be enforced throughout the country, and an addition was made to it, declaring the Articles of Perth and the episcopal hierarchy to be unlawful. By sending his commissioner to this assembly, the king appeared to participate in its enactments. But he adopted a means of retreat, curiously characteristic of the practice of the times and of his own habits and ideas. It was common with those who deemed an act to be illegal, while they had not the means of calling it in question, to protest against it, or by a solemn

form to make public their intention of calling it in question when a suitable opportunity should offer. Protests were during these events frequently taken by the one party against the proceedings of the other. The king recommended that in this case the prelates should go through the form of protesting against the proceedings, but that they should take the precaution of serving the protest on some inferior person, so that it might escape public notice.

7. A PARLIAMENT followed the assembly. Its proceedings were at once marked by a determination to achieve important reforms, and to check the progress of the royal prerogative. The complicated arrangements for making the Lords of the Articles mere nominees of the court, were inoperative from the absence of the bishops, and the system was restored to its old form of a body freely elected by the states. That the crown might no longer be able to continue subservient parliaments as long as it pleased, a resolution was adopted for their triennial duration. While the parliament proceeded in its course of reform, the commissioner, acting by the king's instruction, rose and dissolved the meeting. The members refused to separate, maintaining that in Scotland the king did not enjoy the prerogative of dissolving the house at his pleasure, and they remained in deliberation, taking upon themselves the government of the country.

REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.—It was soon felt that the Pacification of Berwick was a hollow and merely temporary arrangement. Besides his open dispute with the parliament, there were other causes of difference between the king and his Scottish subjects, which were still more bitter and dangerous, as they involved charges of duplicity and treachery between the parties. The covenanters were accused of having made proffers of their services to the King of France; and it was asserted that Charles, instead of making such a charge openly and honestly against them, had seized Lord Loudoun, who was said to be the author of the address to the King of France, and threatened to have him put to death without trial, as a person caught in correspondence with the enemy.

8. UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE ENGLISH OPPOSITION.—At the same time, it is clear that the English parliamentary party, who were preparing to defy the king and declare war against him, became aware of the discontent in Scotland, and were desirous to make common cause with the covenanters. It was asserted that a secret invitation, signed by several of

the leaders of the English parliamentary party, was sent to Scotland, enclosed in a cane carried by a packman; and it was stated on the other hand, that the names attached to this document were not genuine, but were forged by Lord Saville, a zealous friend of the king's opponents. Whether it was in this manner or not that they held communication, it cannot be doubted that the English parliamentary party and the Scottish covenanters had a mutual understanding. Both felt secure in the weakness of Charles, who had no funds for supporting an army, and thus, with little or no previous arrangement, they appeared to be playing into each other's hands.

While the army of the covenanters appeared to disperse after the Pacification of Berwick, the able officers, who had been brought together to lead it, were still kept in the service of the Tables. Thus all the arrangements for commanding and organizing troops being in existence, it was only necessary, if the army should be again called into active service, to embody the men who had served in it and gone home. They appeared with the utmost promptitude, delighted to fight under their peculiar banner, which is still preserved in the Antiquaries' Museum in Edinburgh, with its conspicuous inscription: "For Covenant, King, and Kingdom." The covenanters still professed to maintain their loyalty to the king; and this was a feature with them to the end.

INVASION OF ENGLAND.—On the 21st of August 1640, the covenanters, numbering about 25,000 men, crossed the Tweed, and marched steadily onwards through England. At Newburn, on the Tyne, they had a conflict with a portion of the king's army, which seems to have fought unwillingly, for it speedily retreated, giving the covenanters the credit of gaining the victory. Had the two countries been engaged in an exterminating war, as in former times, this would have been a brilliant acquisition for Scotland and a sad calamity for England; for it put the covenanters in possession of the great northern coal-field by which London and the towns in the southern parts of England were supplied with fuel. The Scots, instead of proceeding to extremities as if they were in an enemy's country, renewed their appeals for redress as humble petitioners. At Northallerton the king took counsel with the leaders of his army, whom he found averse to a contest, and desirous that he should have recourse to a parliament as the sound constitutional means of adjusting the complicated diffi-

culties of the country. In the meantime they recommended that commissioners should endeavour to come to a treaty with the Scots, and this advice was adopted.

9. TREATY OF RIFON.—Negotiations were commenced at Ripon on the 2d of September 1640. The two parties to this celebrated conference had an understanding either express or tacit with each other, and inimical to the king, who was totally unable to prevent them from making an arrangement to enable them to combine against his cause. One of the essential means of producing this effect was the payment of the Scottish forces with English money. It was represented, that if they did not thus obtain the means of subsistence, they must retreat into their own country,—a step they were resolved not to take, or they must live as enemies in England, and support themselves by forced contributions. With the avowed intention of obviating this calamity, a loan was contracted, and the English commissioners agreed that the invading army should have an allowance to defray the expense of its maintenance. The amount thus agreed to be paid was £850 a-day—a very large sum at that period, even for national purposes. It placed the frugal and hardy Scottish troops at their ease, perhaps affording them more luxurious living than they were generally accustomed to; and as they saw that the English were not very eager for the conclusion of the treaty, so they felt on their part no extreme anxiety for its completion. It was soon afterwards adjourned to London, where it became mixed up with the great historical events of the civil war.

10. THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS IN LONDON.—Towards the end of the year 1640, the renowned long parliament of England began to sit, and immediately proceeded to the impeachment of the king's main supporters, Strafford and Laud, whose ruin was followed by the death of the king and the temporary abandonment of the monarchical form of government. Campbell, Lord Loudoun, Lindsay, Lord Rothes, and Johnston of Warriston, with the other Scottish commissioners, now took up their abode in London. A strange restlessness, the forerunner of the coming storm, then pervaded men's minds in the English metropolis, and it was fostered by the arrival of these men from the north, who were nominally enemies coming as the ambassadors of a hostile army to treat for peace, but were in reality welcomed as coadjutors by the great party who were determined to make war against the king.

*In England there was then both a political and a religious*

party ready to sympathize with the Scots. Even in the reign of Elizabeth, a considerable portion of the people held sentiments which they distinguished from those of the Church of England, on the ground of their being more hostile to the principles of Romanism. They were of various shades of opinion, but were generally classed under the term Puritans. There appeared to be a great similarity between their sentiments and those of the Scottish covenanters; and indeed a considerable number of the English puritans avowed themselves to be presbyterians. Others among them held very different doctrines, but the difference was not at once perceptible, and a strong alliance seemed to be formed between the opponents of episcopacy in both countries.

The Scottish commissioners brought with them some eminent divines, whose presence increased their popularity; for they were an object of extreme interest to foes as well as friends in London. We find the great statesman and historian Clarendon giving an account of their reception, which, while it reflects his own distaste towards them, shows how important they made themselves. He narrates, how the commissioners "were lodged in the heart of the city near London Stone, in a house which used to be inhabited by the lord-mayor, or one of the sheriffs, and was situate so near to the church of St Antholins,—a place in late times made famous by some seditious lecturer,—that there was a way out of it into a gallery of the church. This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all matters which had reference to religion; and to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort by the citizens, out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, and by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them,—that from the first appearance of day in the morning to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty. They, especially the women who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning (they who could not, hung upon or about the windows without, to be auditors or spectators), keeping their places till the afternoon exercise was finished." The persons with whom the Scots had to treat, no longer represented the monarch, but the English parliament; and as this body was friendly to their



claims, it is not wonderful that they were enlarged. Their demands were contained in eight articles, the substance of which was thus abridged :—

“ That the acts of their late parliament should be published in His Majesty’s name : That the national fortresses should be conferred on natives with the consent of the Estates : That their countrymen in England and Ireland should be released from oaths inconsistent with the covenant : That public incendiaries, the authors of hostilities between the kingdoms, should be remitted to the judgment, not exempted afterwards from the sentence, of their respective parliaments : That their ships and goods should be restored, the damage repaid, and the nation indemnified for the losses and heavy charges sustained from the war : That all opprobrious proclamations should be recalled ; and that the religion and liberties of the nation should be secured by a permanent beneficial peace.”

There were long and tedious discussions, in which the Scots commissioners did not fail to show by their acts that they suspected the king of evasion. They insisted on having every stipulation in writing, and would not again place themselves at the mercy of the king’s interpretation of verbal arrangements. Virtually they carried every point, the details and practical completion of their demands being referred to a parliament. The army withdrew from England, the parliament of that country giving a substantial acknowledgment of the brotherly assistance, as they termed it, received from the Scots. The expenses incurred by them, and the sum which England was bound to pay in compensation, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What was peculiar in the relation of England and Scotland ? What instructions came from the king ? What organization was adopted ? Give an account of the drawing and signing of the Covenant.
2. What was the policy of the king ? How did the covenanters act ? Give an account of the Assembly at Glasgow.
3. What arrangements did the Tables adopt ? How were there many trained soldiers at the disposal of the covenanters ? Mention some matters of importance as to fortified places.
4. Who were the Aberdeen doctors ? Who was sent against them ? How did Montrose act ? Give an account of the Trot of Turriff. What events followed it in the north ?
5. Who was appointed to command a fleet ? What suspicions attached to the Marquess of Hamilton ? Give an account of what occurred at Berwick and Kelso.
6. What was the condition of the king ? Give an account of the Pacification of Berwick. What was done by the General Assembly ? What was attempted to be done by means of protests ?

7. What were the character and objects of the new parliament? What did the members maintain on an order to dissolve? How did disputes break out again?

8. What was supposed and said as to understandings with the opponents of the king in England? How were the Scots ready to act? (Give an account of the invasion of England.)

9. When did the negotiations at Ripon commence? What was the understanding of the parties? What arrangement was made in favour of the Scots?

10. What body went to London? What was the condition of matters in England? How were the Scottish commissioners received? What did they demand? What was the result?

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### FROM THE PARLIAMENT OF 1640 TO THE BATTLE OF PHILIPHAUGH, A.D. 1640—1645.

**The King's Position—The Parliament of 1640—Montrose's Desertion—The Incident—Triumph of the Covenanters—Presbyterians and Independents—Treaty of Oxford—The Solemn League and Covenant—An Army sent to England—Montrose and the Highlanders—Beginning of Montrose's War—Fate of Aberdeen—Argyll and his Territory—Royalist Victories—Kilcuth and its Consequences—Philiphaugh.**

1. **THE KING'S POSITION.**—With some surprise the covenanters now learned that the king proposed to visit Scotland and pre-side over a parliament. The Long Parliament of England had impeached his favourites, assailed the order of bishops, condemned his attempts to levy taxes without their consent; and, in fine, asserted such an authority over the kingdom, that King Charles could only expect to regain the high monarchical powers which he arrogated through a successful war. He had on his side a large number of the English gentry, and was naturally calculating what other resources were open to him. In Ireland a considerable standing army had been organized by Strafford, from which the king evidently expected assistance; but the jealousy of the English House of Commons was promptly awakened to the danger from that quarter, and the Irish army was disbanded. There afterwards occurred the well-known massacre of the later settlers in Ireland by the native Irish and those original English settlers who inhabited what was called the Pale and retained their adherence to the Church of Rome. Though no one believed that King Charles could have given his sanction to this frightful massacre,

yet there were reasons for supposing that he had, perhaps unconsciously, excited it by his attempts to form a combination with the Roman-catholics to strengthen him in his contest with the English parliamentary party. His journey to Scotland, and the remarkable concessions which he there made, were attributed to the same system of tactics; and it was believed that he wished to obtain the assistance of the Scottish covenanters against his English enemies.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1640 assembled on the 15th day of July, and the king arrived on the 14th of August. The most bitter humiliation to which he was subjected, was to be obliged to consent to the proscription of his most zealous adherents. He was required to punish the "incendiaries," as the opponents of the covenant were called; and with great difficulty he got the number thus marked out reduced to five. He is believed to have saved the most important of his followers, the Marquess of Hamilton, by recommending him to follow the course which had been adopted by himself, and profess to join the covenanters until a fitting time for deserting their cause arrived. It must be observed, however, that all the charges of duplicity so frequently made against Charles I. and his adherents, and at the same time so often retaliated against their enemies, are still matters of speculation, on which there can be no satisfactory historical evidence. What were the intentions and designs of the several parties and individual men in that important contest, each person must judge for himself from the facts.

2. MONTROSE'S DESERTION.—Among the proscribed incendiaries there was one important name, to whose history great interest attaches,—the Earl of Montrose. When we last met with him, he was zealously enforcing the covenant on the people of the northern counties. He had a command in the army which passed into England; but it was said that he was jealous of Leslie being set over him, while at the same time the civil power in the state was engrossed by Argyll, to whom he seems to have ever entertained a dislike. Whether he was actuated by such motives, or gained over by the promises and solicitations of the king, it is certain that he had deserted the covenanters and joined the royalists.

For some time he kept his change a secret, and had opportunities of conveying private information of the proceedings of the covenanters to the other party. They too, however, had their own able and vigilant spies; and it was seen that there

was some one of high trust among them in correspondence with the royalists. It was a rule that no letters should be sent by any one in the covenanting army to the king's without being submitted to the parliamentary committee who conducted the war. Montrose was found on one occasion writing a letter to the king himself. When taxed with the act, he boldly avowed and vindicated it; and from that moment he was the armed supporter of the royalists and enemy of the covenanters. It was discovered that while still a professed covenanter of the most zealous class, he had constructed an association for the restoration of the king to all the powers of which he had been deprived; and in evidence of this, a bond was produced to which he had obtained the signatures of the Lords Marischal, Atholl, Perth, Mar, and Seaforth, along with several other influential landowners, for accomplishing the object of the association. As soon as this document was produced, Montrose charged Argyll, his great rival, with a project for the deposition of the king. Argyll, who denied the accusation, was then all-powerful; and the position in which Montrose now stood prompted the committee of parliament to commit him, with a few of his friends, to Edinburgh Castle.

**THE INCIDENT.**—Thus, when the king arrived in Scotland he found his ablest supporter a prisoner. It has been said, however, that, through the instrumentality of a wily agent, Murray of the king's bedchamber, means were taken for eluding the vigilance of the parliament, and procuring a meeting between Charles and Montrose. Its object was said to be the arrangement of some plan for defeating the influence of Argyll and Hamilton. If we may believe the account given by the royalist historian Clarendon in the authentic edition of his history, Montrose said that the best arrangement was "to kill them both—which he frankly undertook to do." But the king, it is said, expressed abhorrence of such a proposal. The whole affair is involved in mystery; but it is certain that Argyll and Hamilton were warned of some danger impending over them. It was stated that they were to be seized by an armed band, and conveyed to a frigate lying in the Frith of Forth. They secured their houses from immediate surprise, and quickly left Edinburgh until assured of safety. The king seemed to justify the charge by marching to the parliament at the head of a body of soldiers so numerous as to resemble a small army; but he excused himself on the ground of the charges made

against himself, and he showed to the satisfaction of the parliament that they had no ground for alarm. This affair was called "the Incident." It excited the English parliament, who offered brotherly assistance to the Scots, if they continued to feel alarmed, while at the same time they required a guard for their own protection; and afterwards, when the king went to the House of Commons demanding five of the members to be given up, they connected the two things together as parts of a scheme to subvert the constitutional powers of the parliaments by a military force.

3. TRIUMPH OF THE COVENANTERS.—Meanwhile the parliament proceeded with its business, which it executed in its own manner, unswayed by the royal prerogative, which of old had so much influence over that body. It took into its own hands the adjustment of the great offices of state,—a matter which had been generally admitted to belong to the royal prerogative, both in England and Scotland. All those who could be charged with resistance to the covenant were dismissed; and the king was obliged to submit to see promotion made the reward of the most determined opposition to his wishes. Leslie, the general who had fought so effectually against him, was raised to the peerage. Argyll, who had become the main leader of the covenanters, and thence the most powerful subject in Scotland, was raised to the rank of marquess. Loudoun received an earldom, and was made chancellor. Johnston of Warriston was knighted, and made a lord of session; and Sir Thomas Hope, an able and zealous supporter of the covenant, was made lord-advocate. In the ecclesiastical property, too, now no longer needed for the bishops, some considerable rewards were found for those who had been zealous in the popular cause. The covenant was enlarged and enacted in the extended terms in which it is generally printed. Heretofore it had only protested against popery, and contained articles of faith which only by inference affected episcopacy. Now, however, that system which had been so dear to the king, was emphatically denounced, and all covenanters were bound to devote themselves to the extirpation of prelacy—"that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy." From the moment when he entered Scotland the king had prepared himself to submit where it was necessary to all the requisitions of the dominant party; and on the first Sunday

spent by him in Edinburgh he attended the lengthy service of the forenoon with an appearance of devout attention, and bore with resignation a severe rebuke from the minister for not returning to church in the afternoon. Many, who believed that his heart had been turned, hailed him as the princely champion of their sacred cause; but others considered that the change was too abrupt and entire to be genuine, and it was the common opinion that Charles only waited his opportunity to undo all that he had assented to. At the conclusion of this busy parliament on the 17th of November, the king gave a great banquet to the leading political men in Holyrood-house, and returned to England, where he was to meet with a still sterner opposition and deeper humiliation.

4. PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—The covenanters had now achieved all that they desired, and for a time the history of Scotland consists of a series of matters in general secondary to the great events going on in England. To this, however, there is one important exception, as we shall presently see, where the Scots influenced in a remarkable manner the course of English politics, and may be said, indeed, to have dictated a creed and an ecclesiastical polity to their neighbours. The connexion between the covenanters and the English presbyterians or puritans grew daily closer, and both of them began to consider that their cause might be made triumphant in the south as it was in the north. At the same time opinions had been gradually gaining ground in favour of a new view of ecclesiastical arrangement advocated by the party called Independents. Their principles were described with accuracy in the proceedings of the general assembly as "A system which asserts that every separate congregation forms a complete church within itself, subject to the authoritative interference of no other, and possessing all the powers requisite for conducting the spiritual concerns of its members." On an inquiry by the assembly, this system was found to be but slightly if at all prevalent in Scotland; but it was making rapid progress in England, and the presbyterians there desired to form an alliance with their Scottish brethren, not only that they might overthrow the episcopal hierarchy, but also crush independency before it grew strong enough to crush them.

TREATY OF OXFORD.—To understand the influence which this state of religious opinion exercised, it is necessary to keep in view the position of parties in the civil war, as they are more fully described in the history of England. Charles

found himself compelled to abandon his capital, and hold his court and headquarters in the city of Oxford, where high royalist opinions have been ever prevalent. There, after the first dubious operations of the war, an attempt was made, in the winter of 1643, to adjust a treaty between the king and the parliament. The acting government of Scotland appointed commissioners to mediate between the two parties. They found that each was very anxious to have the Scots as allies and assistants to itself, but that neither was disposed to give up its claims at their suggestion. The commissioners, indeed, were rather sent as advocates of the covenant, and to plead the cause of presbyterianism, than to reconcile the two English parties; and they always proposed uniformity in church-government—that is to say, the adoption of their own form in England, as the basis of an arrangement between the king and the parliament. Their pretensions, which were somewhat dictatorial, were not well received; and the high-church students of Oxford began to mob the intermeddling presbyterians in the streets, or hoot at them from their windows. They returned disgusted by their reception, and apparently unregretted by either party. Their presence had, however, opened some important suggestions to the parliamentarians, who saw that the aid of Scotland might be readily purchased by the adoption of the prevailing presbyterian polity,—a system to which many men in their own ranks were known to be devoted.

Meanwhile renewed alarms in both countries tended to show the policy of an alliance between Scotland and the English parliamentary party. The covenanters apprehended danger from the royalists in the north of England, where the king had powerful friends. When the Irish massacre broke out, neither of the English parties could spare men to suppress it, and the parliamentarians, indeed, charged that of the king with giving it encouragement. The Scots sent over a small force to act for the protection of the settlers, and would have sent a larger body had they been desired to do so. Instead of this they heard with dismay that the king intended, by the advice of Montrose, to induce the Irish rebels to proceed to Scotland and support his party there, or at least injure that of the covenanters. From all these causes they saw that it would be necessary for them to arm themselves again and prepare for war.

5. *THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.*—The English par-

liamentary party were at the same time extremely desirous to have the assistance of the Scottish troops, and began to take into more serious consideration the price at which this was to be obtained, namely, the adoption of the presbyterian system, to which so many of their own people were already devoted. A deputation accordingly was sent to Scotland to adjust the arrangement. Its leading member was Harry Vane the younger, whom Milton so beautifully complimented as "Vane, young in years, but in sage council old." He was accompanied by three laymen and by two clergymen, who were understood to place themselves in communication with the clergy of Scotland. It was a remarkable circumstance that while one of these clergymen, named Marshall, was a presbyterian, the other, named Nye, was an independent. It was natural in the circumstances to suppose that he had been sent to look after the interests of his own party, and prevent an uncompromising adoption of the presbyterian system; and the result confirmed this view. The deputation would have been glad if they could have accomplished an alliance for merely temporal purposes with the Scots, but they found this impossible. Along with their friends in Scotland they turned to the consideration of the Covenant, and adjusted it to such a shape as would make it acceptable to their friends in England. It had been, as we have seen, founded on the Confession of Faith, but the changes it now underwent severed it from that document. As it was finally altered to the taste of the English deputation, it consisted of a strong denunciation of popery and prelacy, and bound those who signed it to extirpate them, and unite together in the work of reformation. But it did not define the new system to be adopted more fully than by saying that they would strive for "the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government," while they engaged to support "the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." At the same time they promised "to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising." It was afterwards observed that these terms seemed to be carefully adjusted, so as to make it appear that England was to adopt



the Scottish system, while she was in reality free to diverge from it; and it was said that the covenanters, considering that a reformation "according to the example of the best reformed churches" could mean no other than their own system, were unconscious of the hidden meaning of the expression. This subtle achievement was attributed to the dexterity of Sir Harry Vane, who seemed thus to give an equivocal testimony to Milton's compliment. He had imbibed the principles of the independents, and, undoubtedly, he and Nye were resolved not to accept of terms which would compromise these principles.

For the present, however, the covenanters appeared to triumph. The covenant thus modified, after being accepted by the parliament of Scotland, was received by that of England, who required it to be subscribed by all orders and conditions of men in England and Ireland. It was when it had been thus made the law over the three kingdoms that it received the name of the Solemn League and Covenant.

6. THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.—In the meantime, in the summer of 1643, there had been passed by the English parliament an ordinance—the name given by them to the acts passed without the king's assent—for appointing an assembly of divines "for the settlement of the government and liturgy of the Church of England." This was that Westminster Assembly of Divines which, though to England it was a mere event of passing history, is always spoken of as the authority for the standards of the Church of Scotland. We possess unfortunately no official account of its proceedings, for the record is supposed to have perished in the great fire of London. The persons who first constituted the assembly consisted of 121 clergymen, with ten lords and twenty commoners, as lay assessors or advisers. The presence of a deputation from Scotland being desired, such a body was sent, and its members were placed in seats of honour, and offered votes in the deliberations of the assembly. The deputation consisted of two laymen—Johnston of Warriston and Lord Maitland, with four ministers, Alexander Henderson, who has been already mentioned, Robert Baillie, an eminent scholar and a shrewd observer, George Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford.

This assembly sat nominally until the year 1649, but all its important business was transacted within the first three or four years of its existence. The important documents which *they passed through their hands* were so entirely in conformity

with the principles and practice of the presbyterian church as established in Scotland, that they were plainly dictated by the Scottish deputation ; and it thus appeared as if the smaller country were subjecting the larger to its religious sway. Among these documents were the Directory of Public Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Of these the only one authorized by the English parliament was the first, though the doctrinal part of the Confession of Faith was subsequently accepted with alterations. The independent party had, in fact, obtained the supremacy in the parliament, and the acts of these presbyterian divines were gradually treated with more and more coldness and suspicion. Care was taken to prevent the assembly from forming itself into an independent body of ecclesiastical legislators and judges, like the Scottish general assemblies, for they were always kept at the order of the parliament, to which they had to report their proceedings from time to time. The Directory of Public Worship received little attention from the independents, and at the Restoration was passed over as the act of an incompetent and usurping legislature. In Scotland the Directory of Worship was sanctioned by the General Assembly of 1645, the Confession of Faith by that held in 1647, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms in the ensuing year ; and these important documents, when printed in an authorized shape, always bear to be, "As agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with the assistance of Commissioners from the Church of Scotland."

7. AN ARMY SENT TO ENGLAND.—Meanwhile, the object entertained by the English parliament of obtaining armed assistance from Scotland was effectually carried out. An army of 18,000 foot and 3000 horse was raised, and sent into England, under their old general, Leslie, earl of Leven. He was accompanied by another commander of the name of Leslie, who is said to have been his nephew, and is frequently in history confounded with himself. This was David Leslie, afterwards created Lord Newark. He was a son of the Laird of Pitcairlie, and like his older namesake, he had been trained in arms under Gustavus Adolphus, in the Thirty Years' War. The Scottish troops marched into England in January 1644, and after suffering severe hardships in crossing the wild, roadless border districts in a severe winter, they joined the parliamentary forces at Tadcaster, soon after the middle of the ensuing April.

They took a conspicuous part in the battle of Marston Moor—the principal event in that train of conflicts which accomplished the destruction of King Charles and the rise of Cromwell. A reserve of troops under the immediate command of Leslie, was, in the thick of the conflict, broken by the unskilful movements of some new levies; but the younger Leslie redeemed the character of his cause and of his countrymen, and was second only to Cromwell, if to any one, in the merit of the victory which crowned the efforts of the parliamentary army in that fierce struggle. The presbyterians indeed claimed the chief part in the victory for Leslie, while the independents were the champions of Cromwell. Thus the great feud which afterwards divided the opponents of King Charles was beginning to become apparent, in the jealousies arising between the English independents and the Scottish presbyterians. The remarkable campaign of Montrose soon rendered it necessary to recall the Scots to their own country, to which they returned in 1645, to carry on a war which requires a separate history.

8. MONTROSE AND THE HIGHLANDERS.—Montrose, who had been raised to the rank of marquess, soon showed himself as zealous in the king's cause as he had been in that of the covenanters. His versatile ingenuity suggested to him sources for conducting the contest which had escaped the sagacity of others. He thought he might find assistance among those classes whom it had been the previous practice of the government to treat as rebels and outlaws. Of this class were the native Irish, whom the English settlers treated as wild beasts, who might be hunted and slain at pleasure, without incurring any responsibility. There were also in Scotland the highlanders, who in some measure had been subjected to a similar treatment, and who, if they were less numerous, were better trained in arms.

Whether from the cruelty with which they had been treated by the government, or from other causes, the highlanders hated peace and order. They pursued no settled course of industry, but lived chiefly by plundering the lowlands. They were always in arms, ready to fight among themselves, or against a common enemy. Hence, Montrose sagaciously inferred, that as the exercise of control and authority over the kingdom was then in the hands of the covenanters, the highlanders would readily be induced to fight against them, as they had formerly done against the sovereign.

After repeated disappointments in attempting to procure a sufficient force from Ireland, he resolved to throw himself among the highlanders, and try what he could accomplish by his own personal influence. The journey was one of great peril. He took with him only two friends, Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald, and he acted the part of Sibbald's groom. After a tedious journey of several days, rendered fatiguing by the necessary precautions, and the adoption of cross-roads, he reached Tullibeltou, among the mountains of Perthshire. There he learned that a detachment of the Irish had been sent over, that Argyll had destroyed their vessels, so that they could not return, and that they were then ashore on the distant and wild coast of Knoydart. He arranged that they should meet him at Blair-Atholl, where he would have the advantage of being among a people who had a long-standing hatred of his enemy Argyll. He reached the spot in the dress of a common highlander, and had some difficulty in persuading the Irish that he was a marquess and their appointed leader. They were about 1200 in number, but the men of Atholl and the neighbouring valleys joining him in clusters, the whole force amounted to about 2000 men; and when he commenced his first march, they speedily rose to 3000. They were troops of a kind not likely to be of much service to a general of ordinary military routine, not aware of their peculiarities, or possessed of sufficient genius to make use of them. They hated systematic discipline, and would not submit to it, though they were ready to bear any hardships and privations in following their peculiar warfare. Their method of fighting was by a sudden rush on their enemy. If these had not been specially prepared for the highland charge, they were generally broken and dispersed by the strangeness, the suddenness, and the impetuosity of the attack. But if, on the other hand, the enemy stood the first shock, the highlanders usually ran back, either to renew the onset with a hope of better success, or to retreat to their hills. They would not keep together without the excitement of fighting, and their leader had to find continual work for them. Then, when they had gained a victory, they were apt immediately to give themselves over to pillage, and to return home in great numbers, carrying their spoil with them.

These were the peculiarities with which Montrose had to deal; and he applied them so effectively, that his campaigns, followed by those of Dundee, proved the despised highlanders

to be, when led in the proper way, equal, if not superior to any troops in Europe. Since the battle of Harlaw, they had occupied themselves solely in bitter local conflicts between clan and clan, or were occasionally employed, but with caution and distrust, along with lowland troops. Now they were awakened to a new energy, and it is supposed to have been at this period that they assumed clan tartans and badges, as a means of distinguishing the men serving under the different commanders.

9. BEGINNING OF MONTROSE'S WAR.—The marquess directed his first march towards Perth, where some new levies of covenanting troops were gathering, under the command of Lord Elcho. They advanced to a neighbouring heath, called Tibbermuir, and there, though they far exceeded his own body, being about 5000 men, Montrose led on his followers with the usual impetuous highland onset, and instantly routed them. It was thought that this disaster might be attributed to the wavering or treachery of one of the commanders, Lord Drummond, who shortly afterwards joined Montrose. But at all events, the victory was complete, and the highlanders entering Perth, made an affluent booty of the baggage of their enemies, and levied contributions.

Montrose marched immediately to Dundee, which he summoned. The garrison refused to surrender, and believing that he was too near the stronghold of the covenanting party in the south country to render it prudent for him to pursue a regular siege, he marched northwards. As he passed through Angus he received reinforcements from the Ogilvies and other royalist lowland families; and resolved to attack Aberdeen, where there was a garrison, partly consisting of the forces which he had just defeated at Tibbermuir. That town had changed its condition since his last visit, and in a great measure through his own exertions it had been transferred to the authority of the covenanters. Along with such of the neighbouring lairds as espoused their cause—who were not numerous—the troops sent from the south kept the cavaliers in awe within the town. In the surrounding country they had still a turbulent contest with the Gordons and other royalist families or clans; but Lord Lewis Gordon weakened the cause of Charles by carrying over a party of their followers to the covenanting side. The spirit of the cavalier interest in the north was chiefly sustained by Gordon of Haddo, the ancestor of the earls of Aberdeen; but before Montrose's campaign of

the north, he had been seized and conveyed to Edinburgh, where, after a trial by the parliament or convention, he was condemned and beheaded.

**FATE OF ABERDEEN.**—On Montrose's approach, the Bridge of Dee was fortified; but he, knowing it of old, led his army a short way up the river, and crossed at Nether Banchory. The covenanting troops, instead of merely defending the town, had come out, as at Perth, to do battle. Montrose, not now entirely dependent on his highlanders, kept up a protracted contest by means of his horse and other troops, until a suitable moment for their impetuous rush occurred. Seizing it when it came, his whole highland host sprang forward, and with the same effect as before, the enemy being instantaneously routed. This victory was however marked by cruelties unknown in the former. Spalding, the chronicler, who was a zealous royalist, and as a citizen of Aberdeen was a witness of the scene, thus quaintly describes it:—"There was little slaughter in the fight, but horrible was the slaughter in the flight fleeing back to the town, which was our townsmen's destruction; whereas, if they had fled, and not come near the town, they might have been in better security. But being commanded by Patrick Leslie, provost, to take to the town, they were undone. Yet himself and the prime covenanters being on horseback, won safely themselves away. The lieutenant follows the chase into Aberdeen, his men hewing and cutting down all manner of men they could overtake within the town, as our men was fleeing, with broadswords, without mercy or remeid. These cruel Irish, seeing a man well clad, would first tir (that is, strip) him, and save the clothes unspoilt, syne (and then) kill the man." And again, recurring to the same doleful subject, he says, "It is lamentable to hear how these Irishes, who had gotten the spoil of the town, did abuse the same. The men that they killed they would not suffer to be buried, but tirmed them of their clothes, syne left their naked bodies lying about the ground. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the mother for the son, nor daughter for the father, which if they were heard, then they were presently slain also."

The instruction of Montrose to give no quarter has been preserved; so that whether or not the natural ferocity of his followers may have exceeded his intentions, he had the guilt of letting them loose. The slaughter was deemed the more capriciously cruel as the victims seem in general to have been

the citizens, who were inclined to the king's cause, and who were brought under subjection to the covenant by Montrose himself; who, after having oppressed and despoiled them to make them covenanters, treated them with still greater harshness because he had succeeded.

10. MARCHES AND COUNTERMARCHES.—Argyll approaching with a superior force, Montrose passed northwards towards Moray, his restless highland followers adopting their usual plan of wandering homewards to their own valleys for the disposal of their spoil. Feeling himself destitute of a sufficient army to hold his own ground in the low district, near the east coast, he plunged into the wilds of Badenoch, where by his rapid motions, and the mountainous difficulties of the country, he was safe from attack. Moving from spot to spot through the deep valleys of the northern highlands and the Grampian range, he occasionally rushed forth at some unexpected point, hovering, like a bird of prey, over some small town, or the mansion of a covenanting laird, where his followers collected spoil and exacted contributions.

At length his force became again greatly strengthened, for the fame of his valorous deeds and of the rich plunder to be obtained by following his banner penetrated into the farthest recesses of the north highlands. Hence he was joined by large bands of the Stewarts of Appin, the Camerons, and the several great tribes of Macdonalds in the north-west of Inverness-shire. Most of these clans were the enemies of the Campbells, who had often been the instruments of exercising against them the severity or vengeance of the monarchs of Scotland. There was, however, another clan nearer to the Argyll country, who had from this cause a still more deadly enmity against the Campbells. These were the Macgregors, inhabiting the wild tract of mountains between the head of Lochlomond and Loch Katrine. Living by the plunder of the fruitful districts of the south-west of Scotland, the most ferocious retaliation had been inflicted on them. Arrangements were made for hunting them with bloodhounds, and for surrounding and hemming them in so as to intercept all escape. To bear the name of Macgregor was unlawful, and repeated proclamations were made offering rewards for the seizure of any of the clan dead or alive. The earls of Argyll were often selected to execute the vengeance of the government against these tameless beings, and they did it with the good-will of hereditary enemies. Hence it was that when Montrose proposed to ravage

the territories of Argyll, the Macgregors flocked eagerly to his standard.

**ARGYLL AND HIS TERRITORY.**—Argyll himself had retired from the command of the covenanting army, for which he seems to have found himself unsuited, and was living in the retirement of his castle of Inveraray, when the wild host fell on him so unexpectedly, that he had just time to take boat and escape down Loch Fyne to the lowlands. For about six weeks the marauders were employed in devastating his lands and those of the neighbours who sympathized in his cause. They destroyed the turf-dwellings of the people, with all the provisions and other possessions which they could not remove, sparing only the bare walls of castles, which it would have been too troublesome for them to demolish; and, as a contemporary says, leaving no single four-footed beast in the whole territory.

Having made a desert of Argyll's country, Montrose drew off his men, and marched them through Lochaber towards Inverness, where he expected to meet a reinforcement from the far north under Lord Seaforth. On his way he ascertained that a plan had been formed by Argyll and General Baillie to place him between two forces, and that Argyll himself was then busily collecting one of them at Inverlochy, or, as it has subsequently been called, Fort William. From the situation of this place, it has ever been held an important centre of highland communication, since it has on the one side a long sea-loch, giving access to the whole western coast, while on the other it communicates with the great central glen through Scotland which was subsequently selected as the line of the Caledonian Canal. Along that valley and its chain of lakes, it was to be expected that any enemy would approach Argyll, and doubtless he was well protected in that direction from secret attack. But it did not content the original genius of Montrose to select the beaten path. He wound upwards towards the wild glens at the head of the Spey, whence, traversing Glen Roy, he reached the shoulder of Ben Nevis, and thence descended like a hurricane on the host reposing in security beneath. These were so little prepared for the attack, that a portion of them were divided from their comrades by the river Lochy. The victory was complete, and the slaughter

2d February } great, Argyll escaping in a galley, in which he  
1645. } happened to be at the moment of the onset.


**11. ROYALIST VICTORIES.**—Montrose now passed eastwards



towards the fruitful county of Moray, where his followers recommenced their occupation of plundering, and carried it on with much success. He thence moved southwards through Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, finding great difficulty in keeping his hordes from the pillage even of the Gordons and the other royalists. These at the same time suffered by retaliation from those who had been plundered as enemies by Montrose's followers; and thus the whole country through which he marched was one scene of rapine and murder, from which even his savage followers were glad to retreat, as every source of human support was extinguished. The vindication of the predatory character of this campaign has been, that to plunder was the sole pursuit and pleasure of the only kind of troops which Montrose could obtain for the service which he undertook, and that he must use them as he found them. On the other hand, that he should have gained his victories so easily must be attributed to the fact, that the flower of the Scottish troops were absent in the English wars. Those who could be obtained were generally raw recruits, and they had scarcely any competent commanders, while even such as they had were rendered more ineffectual by the interference of committees of the parliament.

Aberdeen was in extreme terror of a fourth visit; but as little probably remained to be seized in that devoted town, Montrose engaged to keep his marauders at a sufficient distance. A small party was, however, sent to transact some business which they had in the place, and to remove some property claimed by them. They were enjoying themselves over their wine, when a detachment under General Hurry fell on them by surprise, and slaying several of them, carried off a party of prisoners, including Montrose's young son.

As the marauding army passed southwards, plundering such corners of the country as had before escaped, Hurry and Baillie were waiting near Brechin to give it battle. It was not, however, Montrose's design to endeavour to force a passage, since his ranks had been again weakened by his followers re-treating with their spoils. He possessed the art of ever eluding his foes when he pleased; and, by edging up towards the Grampian range, he passed them and reached Dunkeld. They now shifted their position, and sought for a point from which they could easily command the passage from the north. Montrose believing that they had taken up a position at *Stirling*, resolved with a small body of picked men to make a



sudden descent on Dundee. They had burned the town, and secured a rich booty, when an alarm came that Hurry and Baillie were upon them ; and it required all the skill of Montrose to carry off his party to Arbroath, which they reached with small loss. Here Baillie proposed to attack him at his leisure ; but, renewing his progress with scarcely a halt, the marquess reached the hills again unmolested. None but troops accustomed to bear enormous fatigue, and but lightly armed, could have endured these rapid and incessant marches.

We now find him moving so quickly from point to point, that it would be merely an exercise of memory to name the various places in which he appeared, unless the learner had gone over the ground so as to make himself acquainted with the exact difficulties to be overcome in the passage. The covenanting generals had abandoned the task of tracking him, contenting themselves with providing for such defences as they could keep up at important places, and acting as if there were an ubiquitous enemy, who might appear at any part of the kingdom at any moment. The next in number of his brilliant achievements was a battle with General Hurry at Auldearn, <sup>5th May</sup> } a village situate in the sandy plains bordering the <sup>1645.</sup> } Moray Frith. He would probably have avoided this battle, as it was then his policy to sweep through the mountainous districts and unexpectedly attack some town or lowland territory ; but it was necessary to defeat Hurry, that he might be prevented from uniting his forces with Baillie's, when the two would have made a very formidable army. He was again victorious, and the conflict was followed with immense slaughter. In most of the victories of that age, the proportion of the slain to the wounded was very great in comparison with the proportional amount in modern battles. Montrose's battles, however, were peculiarly sanguinary ; and this feature, like the pillage, has been justified or palliated from his position. His men were fierce and undisciplined ; he could not accommodate prisoners ; and in an affair such as that of Auldearn, it was of vital moment to him to reduce the number who might join the hostile army.

Baillie, on his way to unite with Hurry, had only reached the Cairn-o'-Mount, a part of the lower Grampians, about 150 miles distant from the battlefield of Auldearn. He was joined, when he reached the mountain-district at the source of the Don, by Hurry and his scattered fugitives. They imitated the example of their opponents by plundering the neighbour-

ing lands of the Gordons, and Montrose coming up with a superior force, they were compelled to fight. He was once more victorious, though with diminished ease and honour, for his opponents becoming used to warfare resisted him vigorously. After this success he again ranged the country in pursuit of tracts still unplundered; and it shows how vigilantly the system of spoliation had been pursued, that two districts only were found far apart from each other which, being out of the line of previous marches, were still fresh. The one was the district of Buchan, the north-eastern portion of Aberdeenshire, and projecting into the German Ocean; the other was the strath of the Devon, and the neighbouring territory on the eastern slope of the Ochil Hills. Here Montrose had the satisfaction of discovering and destroying a stronghold of his hated enemy Argyll, and leaving the ruin now so well known to tourists as Castle Campbell.

12. KILSYTH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—Passing from this locality towards the upper reaches of the Forth, Montrose crossed the river at the Ford of Frew. Baillie, who had followed on his track, crossed by the Bridge of Stirling. Both armies were thus brought near each other in the district which is formed by the slope of the Campsie Hills. Here Montrose achieved his last and perhaps his most brilliant victory at Kilsyth. The committee of parliament superseded the arrangements of the covenanting general, who, when he permitted such interference, showed himself unfit for the functions of a warlike commander. Hence, instead of its being combined under one leading spirit, the covenanting army was so many separate clusters, which were quite unfit to withstand the furious charge of the highlanders and Irish, whose victory was as usual followed by an indiscriminate slaughter.

There was now no force in Scotland sufficient to cope with that of Montrose. He held Glasgow with the smaller towns, and the presence of the plague alone prevented him from occupying Edinburgh. He received from the king a peculiar appointment as captain-general of Scotland,—an office unknown in the practice of the Scottish constitution, and taken from that of arbitrary governments. It exemplified his position, however, for his authority was solely that of the sword, and his opponents were rather increasing than decreasing while he continued to wield it.

PHILIPHAUGH.—The covenanting party, after so many disasters, now naturally looked for relief to the army sent by

them into England, which would be more usefully employed at home than in the service of the English parliamentarians, with whom the Scottish leaders were by no means on cordial terms. Leslie was before Hereford when he heard of the disaster at Kilsyth, and he resolved to enter Scotland rapidly with a considerable detachment, and if possible fall by surprise on Montrose, who had marched to the south, his troops considerably diminished by desertions. It would be his policy, if he heard of the approach of Leslie, to draw off his forces to their mountain fastnesses; and the covenanting general in his turn formed the design of intercepting him on his way. He had reached Gladsmuir or Prestonpans, the scene of a battle a century later, when he heard that Montrose was stationed, unconscious of his approach, among the border mountains. Leslie resolved to fall on him where he lay. It has created much wonder among historians, that a commander so active, daring, and skilful as Montrose, should have allowed himself to be thus attacked, instead of at least endeavouring to fight his way to the highland fastnesses; but, from whatever cause, he passively awaited the onset of an enemy whom it was impossible for him to resist. He was stationed in the haugh or flat meadow called Philipphaugh, on the Yarrow, a little above its junction with the Tweed, and near the town of Selkirk. Though the ground was not of the mountainous kind which

12th Sept. }  
1645. } the highlanders prefer as a battlefield, he held out for several hours against the attacks of Leslie's far superior force.

When Montrose saw that he must be killed or taken if he remained on the field, he preferred flight to capture, and effected his escape with a small body of horse. They were increased by other fugitives, and he soon had a force sufficient to keep him out of danger from incidental attacks by the people, among whom he was unpopular. He found his way by Clydesdale to the highlands of Atholl. There and in other places he made desperate efforts to reorganize an army for the royal cause, but without effect. Those efforts, though they showed his usual versatile energy, were not of sufficient importance to entitle them to a special historical narrative. They did not cease until the events to be now mentioned compelled the king to disown him, and then, in the autumn of 1646, he passed from the north highlands to Norway. Great cruelties were inflicted on the poor Irish and highlanders defeated at Philipphaugh—a natural consequence of the ravages

in which they had been engaged, and a large number of the more important supporters of their cause were tried by the parliament and executed.

## EXERCISES.

1. How did the king's proposal to hold a parliament in Scotland create suspicion? What humiliations was he subjected to? How are the charges made by the parties against each other in that contest to be treated?

2. What had occurred as to Montrose? What circumstances raised the suspicion that he had changed sides? Give an account of the Incident.

3. How did the parliament act? Mention some of the covenanters who were promoted. What was the position of the king?

4. With what religious party in England did the covenanters agree? Give an account of another religious party which arose in England. Describe what took place at Oxford. What showed the Scots the necessity of preparing for war?

5. Who formed the deputation from England? What document was adjusted with them? How was it supposed that the covenanters were outwitted?

6. How was the Westminster Assembly of divines constituted? In what manner was Scotland represented in it? What were the important documents passed by it? Describe how they were differently treated in England and in Scotland.

7. What aid was sent to the English parliament? Who were the two generals who have been confounded with each other? In what battle did the Scots participate, and how?

8. What new source of aid to the royal cause suggested itself to Montrose? What was the position of the highlanders? Give an account of Montrose's method of joining them.

9. Where was Montrose's first victory? Give an account of his farther progress. What took place at Aberdeen? What occurrences in Montrose's career were supposed to render his conduct to the citizens peculiarly unreasonable?

10. What movements did Montrose make on Argyll's approach? Mention some peculiar classes of highlanders who joined him. How did he surprise Argyll?

11. In what manner did the north country suffer from both parties? How did Montrose evade the generals sent against him? What occurred on the border of the Moray Frith?

12. What was peculiar about the battle of Kilsyth? What were its consequences? What led to the battle of Philiphaugh? What was the effect of it?

## CHAPTER XIX.

### FROM THE BATTLE OF PHILIPHAUGH TO THE RESTORATION, A. D. 1646—1660.

The King in the Scottish Camp—Controversy with Henderson—The King given up—Negotiations with the King—The Engagement—Battle of Preston—Origin of the Whigs—Fate of Charles—Reaction—Fate of Montrose—Treaty of Breda—Charles II. and the Covenanters—Cromwell's Invasion—Battle of Dunbar—The Revolutioners and Protesters—The Coronation—The Start—Battle of Worcester—Scotland during the Commonwealth—The Highlands and Glencairn Expedition—The Church—Parliamentary System—Internal Condition—General Monk's March.

1. THE KING IN THE SCOTTISH CAMP.—The unfortunate monarch, beaten in battle by the independent army, at last came to the conclusion, that among all the conflicting parties in his dominions, the most likely to aid him was the Scottish covenanting force. If others were more friendly, this was more powerful. Accordingly he resolved to throw himself on their generosity, and while the army was before Newark, <sup>5th May</sup> the king one day made his appearance among them in <sup>1646.</sup> } very humble disguise claiming their protection. He was received with great outward respect. From natural habit, he lapsed into the absolute command to which he had been accustomed, but he soon found that his power was extremely limited; and when he gave military orders, the general told him that it behoved an older soldier like himself to relieve his majesty of that labour.

The parliament and the general assembly were both embarked in carrying out the principle of the covenant, which was now not only the religious testimony of the church in Scotland, but in a manner the ruling principle of the civil government. The king was compelled to concur in this spirit, and, among other acts of conformity, was obliged immediately to revoke his commission to Montrose.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH HENDERSON.—One thing, however, was still wanting—though the covenant had made such effective progress not only in Scotland but in England, the king himself had never signed it. After much discussion, and the exchange of expressions which perhaps on both parts were hollow and unmeaning, Charles professed his readiness to accept of the covenant, if any presbyterian divine could

convince him that episcopacy was not of divine institution, and that he was not under obligations by his coronation-oath inconsistent with the covenant. Alexander Henderson was appointed to argue with and convince him. The controversy lasted for months, and produced abundance of written argument. A melancholy interest accompanies it from the fate of Henderson, who died almost in the midst of the 19th Aug. }  
1646. } dispute in his sixty-fourth year. The friends of King Charles and of his system said that Henderson being a fair and candid man was convinced, by the arguments of the king, that he had been pursuing a course of error, and was so overcome by this consciousness that he died of remorse. It is not unlikely that anxiety and distress may have hastened his end. He was a sagacious and moderate man, and very conscientious. He saw many of his brethren acquiring that absolute self-reliance and dictatorial assertion of their views, which the best of men are often apt to imbibe after a long and uniform course of success, such as the covenanters had heretofore known. It is remarkable that with the death of this their ablest minister their successes ended, and they were subjected to the humiliations, followed by persecutions, which have to be presently related.

2. THE KING GIVEN UP.—There occurred in the meantime, at the commencement of the year 1647, an event which has often been spoken of as discreditable to Scotland. This has generally been called the sale of Charles I. to his enemies in England. The Scottish army, it will be observed, was in possession of a considerable portion of the north of England, where it had performed great services for the parliament. It was in a position to keep some strong places if it thought fit, and certainly was able to exercise a highly influential voice in the pending English disputes. The independent party, however, who were gaining the ascendant under the able and sagacious Cromwell, were very anxious that England should be rid of this covenanting force. The army had come from Scotland, however, to be maintained by the English parliament, and they complained that the engagement made with them had not been kept, since the payment and support necessary for troops on service was largely in arrear. A long controversy about the amount of these arrears took place, which terminated in their being obliged to content themselves with £200,000—but one-half the amount which they asserted to be justly due to them. It has been said that they would not even have

obtained this, had it not been that they were in possession of some strong places and of the king's person.

The question about his disposal necessarily accompanied that about the arrears, because, when these were paid, it was understood that the army was to be disbanded as no longer necessary. In that case, the king must be either placed in other keeping or left unprotected. When he was claimed on the part of the English parliament, as if they alone were entitled to deal with him, the Scottish national pride was ruffled, and it was said that being as much the king of Scotland as of England, anything done regarding him should be accomplished by a treaty between the parliaments of the two kingdoms. To this it was answered, that it might be found so in the end, but in the meantime the king was on English ground, and, if subject to any laws, it was to those of England. It was true he was in custody of a force consisting of Scotsmen, but they too were on English ground and in English pay, and were bound, in performance of their proper military duties, to the interests of their employers.

To have kept the king on English territory in defiance of Cromwell's troops would have been impossible. To take him back to Scotland was a project surrounded by perils, since, instead of keeping by his existing friends, he might put himself into the hands of Montrose with his highland and Irish followers. Yet a party, headed by Hamilton, carried a vote in the convention, that Scotland should maintain the personal freedom of the king and his hereditary right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, issued a solemn rebuke against the proposal to advocate his cause unless he should accept of the covenant,—a sacred obligation binding upon the three nations and himself as their king. The convention gave way; and on the arrears being paid, the army was disbanded, and Charles was left to be dealt with by his English subjects.

Such is the transaction which has generally been spoken of as a base selling of the king to his enemies. If the covenanting army had been a royalist one devoted to his interest, there might have been something treacherous in the transaction, because they were bound to advocate their adopted cause through difficulties or sacrifices. It was however embodied to oppose him; and whether or not it was consistent with duty that they should have taken arms on such a side, yet they were not guilty of any treachery if they declined to make



serious sacrifices in his cause. It must be remembered, too, that those to whom he was given up, or rather left, were not his natural enemies who must be supposed to have no other design but to put him to death. They professed to have authority for deciding on his conduct, and they engaged to judge it impartially.

3. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING.—The dispute between the English army, chiefly independents, and the parliamentary party, had now made rapid progress, and at length the former took possession of the king's person. While he was surrounded by attendants, who, under the pretence of guarding and protecting him, were really his jailers, he escaped to the Isle of Wight, and there renewed his fallacious dreams of crushing one portion of his enemies by a union with others. From the continued unsteadiness of his political dealings, and his unfortunate propensity for secret negotiations, which were from time to time detected, he was now thoroughly distrusted. Still it was of moment to the more moderate parties to secure his co-operation. Commissioners from the English parliament and from the Scottish estates were contemporaneously present at Carisbrooke Castle, where he found himself again little better than a prisoner. The arrangements demanded by the English parliamentary commissioners related chiefly to the militia, or the power of commanding the army. This is now deemed a royal prerogative, and with the admirable existing checks on its abuse, it may be safely left with the sovereign. Before the civil wars, it was considered a doubtful question whether the king had the entire command of the national forces; and the parliament, as supplying the means of supporting them, maintained a claim to the right of disposing of them, which proved one of the great objects of contention in the civil war. The Scottish commissioners at Carisbrooke Castle appeared to be merely looking after the interests of their country in connexion with this question, and a dispute arose as to the right of foreigners, as they were reckoned, to interfere in a question between the king and the two houses of parliament of England.

In the course of these transactions, however, the Scottish commissioners, in a brief private audience with the king, concluded a separate secret treaty of their own. Charles offered to send with the English commissioners a sealed answer to the demands of the parliament, which however they would not receive in that shape, alleging that they had been intrusted to act

for the parliament, and must know what reception their proposals met with. While they excited themselves to a dispute on this matter, the king, whose unfortunate propensity for secrecy and double-dealing was the main cause of his misfortunes, kept another important piece of business still more effectually from their knowledge. The treaty with the Scottish commissioners, rolled up in lead, was literally buried in the garden of Carisbrooke Castle, to abide the proper occasion for revealing it.

4. THE ENGAGEMENT.—This treaty, attributed to the Hamilton party, and termed “the Engagement,” had a great influence on the politics of the Church of Scotland, proving a source of division which long separated her adherents into two parts. The king engaged to ratify the covenant, and acknowledge the validity of the acts of parliament which had been passed in Scotland without the royal assent. While he thus seemed to abandon the divine right of episcopacy, to which he had so long adhered, he appeared no less anxious to support the views of the covenanters by the suppression of the multitude of new sects, whose rapid progress gave them uneasiness. The words of the treaty, as Clarendon has preserved them, afford an interesting list of the names of those sects. Thus it bears that “an effectual course shall be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Armenians, Familylists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers.”

But the commissioners were charged with abandoning the objects principally dear to Scotland, while they thus appeared to be making comprehensive stipulations. It was arranged that there should be an act of oblivion for all offences,—a stipulation offensive to many zealous people, who thought that Montrose and his followers might profit by it to reinstate themselves in power. But further than this, it was maintained that in the very stipulation for sanctioning the covenant, there was an abandonment of the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant. By this document England, Scotland, and Ireland had been solemnly bound over to adopt the presbyterian worship and discipline, and to enforce it on all the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. The Engagement, on the other hand, had only some vague expressions about his majesty’s willingness to give satisfaction about the settling of

religion, and referred to the Solemn League and Covenant as a matter to be enforced at some future time when he had become satisfied of the necessity of doing so. On the other hand, there were stipulations that the covenant should not be forced in the meantime upon those who could not conscientiously adopt it, and especially that the king himself should not be obliged, until he was properly convinced, to abandon his old religion. Hence the covenanting party who ruled Scotland considered that the treaty was an abandonment of all that they had struggled for and nominally obtained, since the Solemn League and Covenant had been declared to be binding on all persons throughout the three kingdoms. Some stipulations were made in this engagement or treaty for freedom of trade and for an exchange of the full privileges of citizenship. Other arrangements for the material wellbeing of the people of both countries were adjusted, and that in a manner which would have been very advantageous for Scotland, supposing the king to have had the power of giving them effect. They were, however, overwhelmed in the great ecclesiastical discussions, in which the whole was denounced as a betrayal of the truth.

What actually brought the question to an issue was, however, an article in the Engagement that Scotland should send an army into England "for the preservation and establishment of religion,—for defence of his majesty's person and authority, and restoring him to his government,—to the just rights of his crown, and his full revenues," &c. This was maintained to be an invitation to the followers of Montrose and the other opponents of the covenanters to join the army so sent into England. After much discussion, the Scottish parliament followed out the arrangement of the commissioners, and ordered a levy of troops. The clergy, on the other hand, denounced the Engagement and the parliamentary levy in their pulpits and church courts, and thus there was a bitter division between those who had hitherto, during the progress of the struggle, been fast friends,—the estates of the realm, and the predominant body in the church. The muster of the army was even opposed in the west country by tumult and something like armed opposition.

5. BATTLE OF PRESTON.—Leslie declined the command of this army, and it was accepted by Hamilton. This nobleman, like some of his ancestors and successors, was supposed always to remember that he was the nearest heir of the crown on the

failure of the Stuart line. His acceptance of the command only served to increase the suspicions against him. When his army crossed the border and marched through England, it co-operated in reality with the royalist force which had just been embodied. Yet the two kept entirely apart from each other, since the Scots professed to have in view the cause of the covenant; and the two armies were aptly compared to persons who have some latent connivance for accomplishing an end, but who profess to be unacquainted with each other, that they may take some unsuspecting victim by surprise.

In Oliver Cromwell, however, who had now established his authority in the army, and had disciplined it according to his own sagacious views, they had to deal with no unsuspecting simpleton. Hamilton, indeed, was marching through England in utter unconsciousness that Cromwell, whom he supposed to be at a distance in Wales, was prepared to fall upon him. The Scottish forces had reached or rather were approaching the town of Preston, when they were suddenly attacked as they were defiling through narrow lanes, and as no preparation had been made to receive an enemy, resistance <sup>17th Aug.</sup> } was hopeless. The battle of Preston was an easily <sup>1648.</sup> } gained victory. A portion of the Scots, discontented with their general, fought their way homewards, but no further attempt was made to carry out the arrangement for an armed support of the king. Hamilton was afterwards tried in England as Earl of Cambridge—a title which he held there—and was condemned and executed.

ORIGIN OF THE WHIGS.—Cromwell after this victory marched to the border; but there he found that instead of enemies he had for the time warm supporters in the Scots. The Engagement was sternly condemned by the strictly covenanting party, and especially by their clergy, and the defeat at Preston was spoken of as a worthy judgment on those who had been concerned in it. A number of the covenanters, chiefly from the western counties, formed themselves into a tumultuary army, which, if it did not adopt Cromwell's principles, was on his side so far as he was opposed to the king and the Engagement. Their sudden rising received the name of the Whigamore's Raid. An endeavour has been made to derive the term thus applied to the covenanters from a sort of whistling exclamation which they were said to use to make their half-starved horses move on,—something which has been represented as sounding like *whighow*; but it is extremely difficult

to express such unarticulated sounds by letters. The term "whigham" or "whigamore," however, caught the public ear, and was soon after abbreviated to the word, "whig," which served from time to time to represent a great party in the state, and is still employed in politics. The opposite term, "tory," arose nearly at the same period, and had an origin equally humble and scarcely so creditable, since it was a word applied to a class of freebooters in Ireland, where several statutes were passed "for the suppression of tories, robbers, and rapparees."

FATE OF CHARLES.—Cromwell found to his satisfaction that his friends had the ascendancy in Scotland, and that it was not necessary to invade the country. On the border he had some intimate communications with Argyll, now at the head of affairs; and it was said, though never proved, that the ambitious Scottish nobleman was made aware of the projects of Cromwell, and must be considered morally as a participator in the events which terminated in the death of King Charles. These, though exercising a great influence in Scotland, need not be here repeated, as they will be found distinctly recorded in the history of England. It is sufficient to state, that after his trial before the tribunal called the High Court of Justice, he was executed at Whitehall on the 30th of January 1649. Whatever views were formed of the vacillation or even duplicity of the king's conduct in the course of the war, his fate, and the heroism with which he endured it, raised a general feeling in his favour throughout the country; and as soon as the powerful military system of Cromwell gave it an opportunity of freely developing itself, it produced a reaction which for a time reproduced the evils attributed to the unfortunate king, only with greater virulence.

6. REACTION.—In Scotland the reaction was instantaneous. There were nominally three parties there—the royalists; the engagers, whose army had been beaten at Preston; and the stern covenanters, who repudiated an engagement with an uncovenanted king—but all professed in their several ways to condemn the death of their king, and to acknowledge his son as heir to the throne. This son, afterwards Charles II., was in Holland. A convention of estates met, and voted the acknowledgment, followed, however, by a provision that he should be admitted to the actual exercise of government only if he should give security for the religious unity and peace of the kingdoms by the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant.

While he seemed gravely to consider the offers of these solemn messengers, who sternly demanded stipulations, the careless young king was surrounded by advisers of a different kind—the reckless cavalier refugees, who, more excited even than usual by the late tragic events, believed that by a bold dash they might recover all. The young prince had no sympathy either with the religious fervour of the covenanters or the reckless enthusiasm of the cavaliers. He only hoped that one or other of them—he did not much care which—would succeed in placing him on the throne, and enable him to live in power, affluence, and luxury. He had discernment enough to see that the cavaliers, who personally were the more agreeable to him, had little chance of accomplishing what they proposed, and that his best prospect was in the Scottish commissioners. Still there was one royalist leader who had already done such marvels that it was wisdom to give him an opportunity of performing what he now promised, ere the offers of the Scots were accepted.

**FATE OF MONTROSE.**—This was their countryman Montrose. He obtained some money and arms from foreign courts, secured about 500 German auxiliaries, and with such Scottish royalist refugees as flocked to his standard, embarked at Hamburg. He first landed in Orkney; but here the people had lived in secluded peace, scarcely conscious of the civil conflict which raged in the three kingdoms. They did not resist him, but they were unwilling and surly recruits. Crossing over to the mainland of Scotland, the terror of his name, connected with plunder and slaughter, made the people flee before him. While passing through Ross-shire he was attacked by a party under Strachan, one of Leslie's officers, at a place called Craigchonichen. The recruits from Orkney scarcely professed to fight, and the Germans surrendered themselves as foreign prisoners of war.

Montrose, seeing the utter hopelessness of effecting anything with such materials, fled under the disguise of a northern peasant. Exhausted, he found it necessary to throw himself on the protection of a neighbouring laird, Macleod of Assynt, who had been one of his followers, but who, like himself, having changed sides, thought fit to give him up to the government.

Whatever inclination the ruling party had to enthrone the young prince, they looked on Montrose as their most deadly

enemy, and the news of his capture was received with exultation. He was conveyed in a sort of triumphal procession through the intervening towns to Edinburgh. Seated, bound, upon a cart, he was dragged in similar ignominy up the Canongate towards the Parliament House. It is stated by a cavalier annalist that as he passed the old edifice called Moray House, the family of Argyll, then engaged in wedding festivities, came forth on the stone balcony, which may still be seen, "in order merely to feed their sight with a spectacle which struck horror into all good men. But," continues the annalist, "Montrose astonished them with his looks, and his resolution confounded them."

He appeared before the parliament only to receive judgment, for a forfeiture had already issued against him while he was engaged in war against the constituted power of the time. He was hanged in the Grassmarket, and being quartered as  
 21st May } it is generally termed, or cut in pieces, the various  
 1650. } portions were placed on spikes over the gates of the principal towns. This barbarous sentence followed up the example set by the law of high-treason, and it was natural that a body newly installed in power should imitate the example set them by old established governments. Montrose suffered with great firmness and dignity. None of his adversaries denied him the praise of courage; but it is to be regretted that he should have stained this manly virtue by cruelty. Such severity has been vindicated on the ground that a good end justifies all means for its accomplishment; and Montrose furnished a signal instance of the danger of such a principle by employing his cruelty on both sides because he had changed his own opinions.

7. TREATY OF BREDA.—When the young prince found that his unscrupulous champion had thus fallen, he thought fit to close with the less palatable conditions of the covenanters. He agreed to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, and was not deterred or alarmed by the solemnity of the terms in which he was required to receive it as an obligation which, as he called on the Deity to witness, he conscientiously accepted, and would sacredly preserve. He agreed to submit himself to the church in all things spiritual, and with the same carelessness allowed the parliament to claim in civil matters whatever power it chose to demand. This engagement was called the Treaty of Breda, from the name of the

Dutch town where it was transacted. Having thus secured his reception, he landed near the mouth of the river Spey and passed southwards.

**CHARLES II. AND THE COVENANTERS.**—His new friends were by no means inclined to encourage the easy levity with which he accepted their obligations. He was never permitted to forget that he was a covenanted king, and bound to all the rigid observances of his new allies. He was not only required to attend during the long hours of worship, and to observe strictly every religious duty, but he was subjected to rebuke and discipline for his previous conduct, and frequently heard the misconduct of his father and the idolatry of his mother referred to at great length as causes of mourning, and examples of wickedness to be avoided. His own morals were thoroughly dissolute; and it is not wonderful that in attempting to follow these rigid requirements he fell into mistakes, and showed symptoms of the natural profligacy of his character. Such instances only called for reproach and severe discipline, which was mercilessly administered; and thus arose the conflict that afterwards produced so disastrous results.

**8. CROMWELL'S INVASION.**—In the meantime, however, as the English commonwealth saw great danger to their cause in so effectual a rallying point for all who favoured royalty, Cromwell marched northwards with a powerful army to crush the effort at its commencement. The charge of the defences fell on the younger Leslie. His reputation at that time was much more nearly on a level with Cromwell's than would now be generally supposed. They had fought, as we have seen, in union, and being in some measure rivals, the contest in which they were to measure swords with each other was looked on with intense interest.

The south country was deserted and left bare. Of the few old feudal castles which used to be so formidable in warfare, one only offered any resistance—the large square tower of Borthwick, on the Gore Water, about twelve miles from Edinburgh. Cromwell opened his batteries, which immediately threatened entire destruction to the tower, massive as it was, and the effects of the cannonade may still be seen on the walls.

Leslie, with the skill of a soldier trained in foreign wars, prepared a much more formidable defence by garrisoning the town of Leith, and drawing a line of works round Edinburgh. Baffled as he approached towards the south and east, Crom-



well drew his troops round by Redford and Colinton, in the hope that from that quarter he might make a more effective attack, but he was completely baffled by his vigilant opponent. Being straitened for provisions, he was, for the first time in his military career, in a very critical position, and he found it necessary to retreat so as to establish a communication with his fleet near Berwick.

While he was thus driven to extremities, changes took place in the army of his opponents by which he was unconsciously saved. The covenanters had still some misgivings, for which indeed they might have had sufficiently good grounds, about the sincerity of their king. They required from him new and more emphatic declarations of his submission to the covenant, and condemnations of the sins of his parents, and demanded a day of fasting and humiliation for their expiation. Charles seeing that they hesitated between him and Cromwell, yielded to every thing. At the same time, believing that to go to battle with the sectaries, as Cromwell's troops were called, it was necessary that they themselves should be perfectly pure, they purged from the camp all the officers who were suspected of disaffection to the covenant. Some of the best men were thus discharged, but the rest deemed that they, being now purified by their absence, had nothing to do but to march on Cromwell and extinguish him.

**BATTLE OF DUNBAR.**—The general, still continuing his prudent course, hovered around Cromwell's army, keeping the heights and presenting an impregnable front, which rendered the enemy's position very precarious. The committee of management, which now consisted of clergymen, became impatient of delay, and thought that this prudent method of warfare did not show sufficient confidence in the certainty that victory must be conferred on them. It was useless for the general to remonstrate, for a great portion of his troops, in the temper they were in, would have obeyed their clergy rather than himself. He therefore led them down from the heights to the flat country near Dunbar. Cromwell, beholding with astonishment their infatuated movement, seemed to claim it as a miraculous intervention in his own favour, and exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." He fell upon them with the impetuous charge of his well-trained ironsides, before they were formed, and speedily dispersed them. Such was the battle of Dunbar, fought on the 3d of September 1650. It may be questioned if Charles II. was

much mortified by an event which rid him of such imperious partisans; while on their part, the scattered remains of the covenanting troops attributed their disaster to the still questionable character of their alliance with the king, and to their not having purged their ranks with sufficient rigidity. They assembled themselves, to the number of about 4000 men, in the west country, under leaders of their own selection, Ker of Kerston, and Strachan, and there declared themselves equally at war with the malignant Charles Stuart and the sectarian Oliver Cromwell.

9. THE RESOLUTIONERS AND PROTESTERS.—While they thus stood aloof, the more rational of those who had hitherto gone along with them, desired if possible to form an alliance with those who had entered on the engagement with the late king, and even with any cavaliers who would join them on their own terms. These terms were comprehended in two resolutions, the one of which required penance for the sin of having joined a cause opposed to the covenant; the other admitted the persons thus expressing their penance to enter the service of the state. Many of the cavaliers, anxious to serve the king's cause on any terms, performed the necessary stipulations, after the example set by their royal master, and were received into the new army, which thus was rapidly increased to a powerful force. The associated covenanters in the western counties at the same time issued a strong remonstrance against all the defections of their brethren. Hence the presbyterians came to be divided into two parties, the more moderate, called Resolutioners, and sometimes Engagers; the extreme section, who would tolerate no government that was not bound to follow out the Solemn League and Covenant, being called Protesters, or sometimes Abhorrrers. This distinction lasted through all the unhappy series of events which followed. Cromwell was now master of the south of Scotland, while Charles and the army gathering round him were compelled to keep to the northward of the Forth.

THE CORONATION—THE START.—It was resolved to crown the king at Scone, where the ceremony of the coronation had of old been performed. It seemed, however, likely that the principal person in the ceremony would be wanting, for Charles had mysteriously disappeared. This incident received the name of the Start, and taught the covenanting part of the new army how little reliance they could place on their sovereign. It is supposed that he was led to expect a gathering of the

highlanders, who would aid him on far more easy terms than the covenanters. All that is known is, that he reached the solitary glen of Clova, in the Braes of Angus, and there finding no army, but only a small gathering of northern lairds, he returned and submitted to the ceremony. After the renewal of the covenant, with every solemnity, the crown was placed on his head by Argyll, on the 1st January 1651.

BATTLE OF WORCESTER.—The two armies remained each occupying its own portion of the country for several months, during which there were only some partial and trifling encounters, generally favourable to Cromwell. His well-managed army was from day to day spreading its influence over a country where the people had become indifferent to the cause of the Stuarts, and that of the king became at last so hard pressed that it must soon inevitably be ruined. In this emergency Charles was induced to perform the one act of spirit and resolution which adorns his life. This was to sweep past the vigilant soldiers of Cromwell, by quick marches, and throw himself on his friends in England. The design was so far accomplished, that a considerable body of the Scotch forces, with such English royalists as joined them, reached the town of Worcester. While they were opposed by the militia in front, Cromwell, following in the rear, here overtook them. An unequal contest ensued, and the battle of Worcester, on the 3d of September 1651, extinguished the last hopes of the royal cause.

10. SCOTLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.—Scotland might now, in one sense, be called conquered ; in another sense, it was merely like England, brought under a victorious party, to which only a portion of the people were inclined to offer resistance. Troops were sent, under the command of the afterwards celebrated Monk, to reduce any fortified places still holding out. Dundee was the only town which offered much resistance, and the inhabitants were treated with the cruelty which had become so sad a feature of these unhappy wars. Considerable interest was attached to the siege of Dunottar Castle, a range of buildings covering a precipitous rock on the coast of Kincardineshire. There the crown, sceptre, and sword, called "The Honours of Scotland," were preserved, and it was deemed of great moment that they should not fall into the hands of Cromwell's general. The wife of the neighbouring minister of Kinneff being permitted to carry out some household goods from the castle, the "honours"

were hidden beneath them, and were thus removed to Kinneff, where her husband buried them under the floor of the church.

**THE HIGHLANDS AND GLENCAIRN'S EXPEDITION.**—In the highlands there was occasional restlessness for some years after the rest of the country was quiet. In 1654, the Earl of Glencairn obtained a commission from Charles, and endeavoured to act the part of Montrose among the highland chiefs. He collected as many as 5000 men, but he was unable to raise their enthusiasm or maintain unity. The highlanders would never act in subordination to any one who was not a very eminent military leader, and Glencairn's troops had much more fighting among themselves than against the enemy. After the greater portion of them had dispersed, the remainder were attacked and routed near Loch Gary, in the western district  
 20th July }  
 1654. } of Inverness-shire. From this point, on the line of the Caledonian Canal, there were convenient openings into the most important glens of the highlands. Cromwell built two fortresses, one at Inverness and another at the place afterwards called Fort William, a strong garrison being stationed in the former. The force thus permanently established left the hitherto unruly chiefs and the people in a great measure to follow their own ways, with one exception, however, that a vigilant watch was kept on armed assemblies, which were immediately suppressed.

**THE CHURCH.**—The same policy was followed throughout the country. All men were left at perfect freedom, provided they did not combine or assemble together. Cromwell was as jealous of ecclesiastical as of warlike bodies. When the general assembly met at Glasgow, on the 20th of July 1654, they found Colonel Lutterel with a guard of musketeers round the building. The colonel, addressing the moderator, asked if he sat by authority of the parliament, or by that of the commander-in-chief, or by that of the judges. The moderator answering, that they were an ecclesiastical court, who acknowledged no human authority in their actions, the officer civilly, but firmly, required them to remove, and they were marched from the town, sentinels being set over the place of meeting. The clergy were in general left unmolested, and were permitted to hold their presbyteries, where they carried on their discussions in comparative obscurity. A considerable portion of them, chiefly in the north, were inclined to episcopacy, and the presbyterians, who were on the whole the greater number, were divided into two parties, the resolu-

tioners and the remonstrants, on the grounds which have already been mentioned.

11. PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.—During the Commonwealth, Scottish history affords, it will be observed, very few incidents. Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with supreme power, subject to parliamentary control, by an instrument of government adopted on the 16th of December 1653. His contests with his several parliaments, and his final establishment of a power virtually arbitrary, belong properly to English history. It is proper to mention, that the number of representatives to Scotland in the united house of commons was thirty. The privilege of representation was not, however, coveted by the country. Some of the seats were not filled at all; others were occupied by Englishmen. The poverty and distance of the constituencies, and perhaps a prejudice against going to London, where the representatives felt themselves overwhelmed by the preponderance of England, seem to have rendered the parliament unpopular among the Scots. In the year 1657, when Cromwell wished to form a house of lords, one or two Scotsmen were admitted to the new dignity, and among them Sir William Lockhart, a celebrated diplomatist, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston, the covenanting leader, who was to be chairman or speaker of the house.

INTERNAL CONDITION.—In the internal administration of the country, the court of session was superseded, and "Commissioners of Justice" were appointed, of whom about a half were Englishmen. The hereditary or feudal jurisdiction of the landlords was suspended as a source of war and turbulence, and a certain number of them who could be relied on were appointed to act as justices of the peace. A far more impartial system of taxation than any that had been previously followed in Scotland was adopted. To enable it to be carried out, an accurate survey and valuation was taken of the landed property of the country, which is made use of at the present day. For the purpose of adjusting the revenue from customs and articles consumed, Mr Thomas Tucker was appointed by the commissioners of appeals to make a register of the trade and shipping of the country. His report is still preserved, and is a record of the extreme poverty of Scotland at that time. There were in Glasgow, for instance, twelve vessels: the largest 150 tons, the lowest 12. The total tonnage was 497. The tonnage of Glasgow is now nearly a quarter of a million,

and though the ton is not precisely the same as it was, it is sufficiently near it to show the prodigious extent of the increase. The chief commercial prosperity of the country was then in the small towns on the east coast, which have now degenerated into villages. Thus, in Anstruther there were ten vessels with a general tonnage of 207, and in Burntisland there were seven vessels with a tonnage exceeding 100.

There was great difficulty in getting taxes collected from so poor a country, especially to be removed to England. But the same event which brought the taxation, by a close incorporating union with England, created national wealth. All duties of export and import between the two nations were removed, and the traffic between them was rendered free. Cromwell had restricted notions of external commerce, and excluded foreign vessels from a share in the British trade. But by this exclusion he opened more than he closed to Scotland, to whom the intercourse with England was the most important of all. Hence the country began to rise in wealth, and during the continuance of the Commonwealth, Scotland made such peaceful progress that the calamities of the Restoration period became peculiarly afflictive.

Cromwell died on the 3d of September 1658. His son Richard succeeded to the protectorate; but, as he felt the task of controlling the turbulent elements too severe for him, he resigned it to the contending parties. These were, on the one hand, the officers of the army, with Lambert at their head, who governed as a military council; and, on the other, that remnant of the Long Parliament called the Rump, which had resumed its sittings. There was still, however, another power which might turn the balance, that of the army in Scotland. Consisting partly of Englishmen and partly of Scotsmen, it had been kept in admirable discipline by its commander, General Monk, who now saw that it would be his interest to march his troops southwards, and take the lead in the adjustment of the government.

**GENERAL MONK'S MARCH.**—Monk was a man of deep councils, who kept the secret of his thoughts within his own heart; yet so much reliance was placed on him by the Scots, among whom he had commanded, that they offered to increase his army if necessary. He took care that its ranks were carefully weeded of dangerous characters, and commenced his march at the head of seven thousand picked and disciplined men. A feeling had insensibly spread abroad, that the object he had in

view was a restoration of the royal line, and the people, tired of the long contest, and the trying uncertainty of the times, gave him everywhere a hearty welcome. The English army, which had overawed London, passed to the northwards, under Lambert, to oppose him; but the new spirit had either spread among the men or discouraged them, and they gradually dropped away. Monk professed to be led by the parliament; but he desired that it should be a full representative house,—not a mere fragment. In the new house, the prospect of the Restoration was heartily sanctioned; and, on the 29th of May 1660, King Charles II. arrived in England, and passed to London amidst tumultuous applause.

## EXERCISES.

1. On what ground did Charles expect assistance in Scotland? How did he consequently act? Give an account of the controversy with Henderson.
2. What was the Scottish army accused of? Give an account of the transaction as it actually took place. How did the parliament and the general assembly act?
3. What was the next step in the king's career? What were the English commissioners dealing for at Carisbrooke? How did the king exemplify his unfortunate propensity on the occasion?
4. What was the nature of "The Engagement"? What were its negotiators charged with abandoning? What difference of view arose between the parliament and the church?
5. Give an account of the battle of Preston. What body formed themselves into an extempore army? Give an account of the supposed origin of the party names Whig and Tory. When was Charles I. executed?
6. What was the effect of his death in Scotland? What was the position of Charles II.? Under what circumstances did Montrose fall into the hands of his opponents? Give an account of his fate.
7. What was the nature of the treaty of Breda? How did Charles II. and the covenanters agree in keeping it?
8. What two commanders were now pitted against each other? How did Leslie endeavour to protect Edinburgh? How was Cromwell situated? Describe the manner in which he gained the battle of Dunbar.
9. Give an account of the state of parties after the battle. What were the resolutions? Give an account of the coronation and the Start. What battle extinguished the royal cause?
10. What was the general position of Scotland under the Commonwealth? What sieges took place? How was order enforced in the highlands? How did Cromwell treat the church?
11. How was Scotland represented in the Commonwealth parliament? How was justice administered? What surveys were made? What was the general condition of the country? Mention the main particulars connected with the Restoration.

## CHAPTER XX.

## FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION, 1660—1688.

The Restoration—Sharpe and the Presbyterians—Middleton and Lauderdale—Reconstruction of Episcopacy—Fate of Argyll—Warriston—Guthrie—Enforced Conformity—The Drag-net—Severities—Torture—Rising at Dalry—Rullion Green—Impoverishment of the Country—A Union suggested—Change of Policy—Lauderdale—The Indulgence—Letters of Intercommuning—Bonds—Lawburrows—Highland Host—Sharpe and the Covenanters—Murder of Sharpe—Western Rising—Claverhouse—Drumclog—Monmouth—Disputes of the Covenanters—Battle of Bothwell Bridge—Military Executions—The Duke of York—The Cameronians—The Test and Argyll—The Ryehouse Plot—Fergusson the Plotter—Succession of James—Monmouth's Rebellion—Dunottar—James's Government—The Toleration—Prince of Orange's Arrival.

1. THE RESTORATION.—If there was not such delirious joy in Scotland as that which welcomed the Restoration in England, yet a general feeling of satisfaction accompanied the event. The cavaliers, of course, hailed it with delight; and the greater part of the presbyterians had the satisfaction of remembering that Charles II. had solemnly adopted the covenant. They were not prepared to find that the circumstances attending that adoption had inspired him with a hearty dislike of the presbyterian system, and a desire to be rid of it, without much reflection on the consequences of treating the religious convictions of the majority of the people with contempt. In the general excitement, however, all ominous and disagreeable things were overlooked, and the mischiefs committed had become irretrievable before they had attracted general notice.

**SHARPE AND THE PRESBYTERIANS.**—The presbyterian clergy, however, were not negligent of the interests committed to them. They sent an agent to accompany Monk and watch the progress of events. As the church had never been permitted to assemble collectively, the leaders only could act to the best of their discretion. They accordingly selected a very able member of their body called James Sharpe, who was instructed to use his utmost endeavours for the re-establishment of the presbyterian church courts, and for endowing them with sufficient strength to suppress the various errors which were said to have crept over the country through the lax toleration of the times. He was in short commissioned, and undertook to use all



his efforts, to procure the establishment of a presbyterian system in its utmost purity.

He corresponded actively with his constituents ; but after the Restoration a gradual change crept over the fervent tone of his letters. At first he appeared to be doubtful and dissatisfied—then lukewarm in the cause—finally discontented. In the end it was announced that he had been induced by a high bribe to betray his trust ; and when he returned to Scotland, it was to carry out the arrangements by which he became Archbishop of St Andrews.

LAUDERDALE AND MIDDLETON.—The king had two advisers in Scottish matters, Lauderdale and Middleton. The former was unscrupulous, dissolute, and cruel ; but he knew the state of Scotland, and not caring much for any particular form of religion himself, he recommended Charles to avoid disturbing the presbyterian church-government in the districts attached to it. The king, however, took other advice, and Middleton, as the representative of the episcopalian system, was sent down as commissioner to preside in the parliament.

2. RECONSTRUCTION OF EPISCOPACY.—It was not till after the meeting of parliament, in the autumn of 1662 that an act was passed “for the restoration of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops.” Scarcely, however, had that body begun to sit before a measure was brought in to condemn the Solemn League and Covenant ; and other preparations were made for the great change. To accomplish their ends, the ministry did not hesitate at any recklessness. Bishop Burnet says in his *Memoirs*, “it was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance ; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk.”

Among other reckless proceedings, an “act rescissory,” as it was called, was passed, for revoking the proceedings of parliament which had taken place since the year 1648. This distinction not being deemed sufficiently extensive, there was a farther revocation of all that had passed since the year 1633. Thus, besides whatever had been done during the Commonwealth, the legislation of fifteen years of the monarchy was destroyed without regard to its effects. There were among these acts many relating to commerce, crime, and the social institutions of the country, and these it was absolutely necessary in some measure to reconstruct. The advantage, however, of the general rescinding was, that all the laws by which presbyterianism had been created were gone as if they never had

existed, so that those—the king included—who had given in their adherence to the religion as established by law, found that there was no such thing, unless they were to consider the system in 1633 as that to which they had sworn.

**FATE OF ARGYLL.**—It has often been said, that had they been moderately dealt with, the greater portion of the presbyterian party in Scotland, after their experience of Oliver Cromwell's strong government, would have been reasonable and very easily managed at the Restoration. It has even been asserted, that many of them would not have made a bitter war against episcopacy but for the oppressive acts with which it was inaugurated. Foremost among these was the execution of some of the presbyterian leaders. The first was Argyll, whose power was almost that of a prince. He was tried, as influential statesmen have often been, by parliament. No record of the trial is preserved, and it is generally said that it proceeded upon deficient and irregular evidence, part of which was a few private letters brought in and hastily read, after the really legal evidence at the command of his prosecutors had been exhausted and found insufficient. The possession of his vast estates was deemed one of the main objects of his prosecution. He was condemned and executed; and though through life he had been in a great measure an ambitious and self-seeking man, his death made him be considered as a martyr to the presbyterian cause.

**WARRISTON.**—The next trial was that of Sir Arthur Johnston of Warriston, whose name has been frequently mentioned. Having got warning that he was in danger, he fled to France. There he was hunted out by a fellow-countryman, named "Crooked Murray," and the despotic government readily gave him up. This resolute and sagacious man, whose genius had often baffled the ablest statesmen of the day, burst forth into childish supplications, which showed that his constitution was broken down; and it was said that a physician had treacherously administered drugs to him.

**GUTHRIE.**—Another victim, perhaps still more aggravating to the covenanters, was James Guthrie, a renowned popular preacher. It was generally believed that a principal reason for his prosecution was, that he had been one of the sternest and most obdurate of those who rebuked the king when he was seeking the favour of the covenanters. It was hinted, too, that he had made a deadly enemy of Middleton, by an inopportune act of clerical discipline. Middleton, it was said, was

subjected to excommunication, and Guthrie was to pronounce the sentence. A letter was sent from a high quarter by the hands of a nobleman, praying that judgment might be postponed. It was delivered on Sunday, and Guthrie desired that the church-service should be over before he gave an answer. The noble messenger accompanied him on the occasion, and there heard him with austere severity deliver the sentence. When Guthrie was executed, his zealous followers dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood as in that of a martyr. His head was set over the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, and the feeling of the people was shown by an anecdote to which the superstition of the time made them give credit. In many partially civilized nations men have adopted the striking and picturesque superstition, that the blood of a murdered man after it has been dried up will flow in the presence of the murderer. It was said, that on Middleton's coach passing under Guthrie's head, drops of blood fell on it, which the chemical science of the age could find no means of removing. "I have it," says Wodrow, who mentions the story, "very confidently affirmed, that physicians were called, and inquired if any natural cause could be assigned for the blood dropping so long after the head was put up, and especially for its not washing out of the leather, and they could give none. This odd incident beginning to be talked of, and all other methods being tried, at length the leather was removed, and a new cover put on." This anecdote is a proof of the deep and painful sensation made on the public mind by the executions which followed the Restoration.

3. ENFORCED CONFORMITY.—In the beginning of the year 1662, Sharpe and his colleagues returned to Scotland after having received consecration as bishops in London. Some of them were zealous episcopalians. Others were charged, like Sharpe, with treacherous apostasy, and it was remarked that, in the proceedings which followed, these were the most reckless and severe. The jealousy with which the bishops were naturally received would only be heightened by the judicial severities which have just been mentioned. But if there were any indifferent persons in the country who desired to be at peace with their neighbours, and abstain from interfering with the course of affairs, provided they were not violently compelled to take a side, the reckless government took care that they should have no pretext for neutrality. An abjuration of the covenant was extensively enforced; and men were thus driven

either to confess their abhorrence of its obligations, or to set themselves against the existing government. The remonstrants of the west, it will easily be believed, would admit of no compromise. They would not have tolerated a system which even relaxed the obligations of the covenant. But by the severity of the executive power, moderate men, who did not wish to force their opinions upon others, were called upon to abandon and abjure these opinions,—a measure driving them either to abject submission or to resistance.

At the time of the Restoration, nearly all the clergymen in the south of Scotland were presbyterians, those in the west being generally extreme remonstrants. An act was passed to require every one to accept of collation by the bishops, and to form part of the new hierarchy. None obeyed but those entertaining episcopal sentiments, who were chiefly to be found in the north, and the few presbyterians who had made up their minds to apostatize.

Prudent rulers, desirous of bringing about a permanent change, would have proceeded by slow degrees; and we have already seen how many steps were taken towards episcopacy by King James, and how leisurely he proceeded. The Restoration government, however, resolved to proceed at once by wholesale force. Middleton, and other members of the administration, were enjoying the hospitalities of Archbishop Fairfowl in Glasgow. There, in the midst of a clergy and population adhering to the covenant, they resolved to enforce obedience. A privy-council was accordingly convened in the College Hall, which was called, by the citizens of Glasgow, "the Drunken Meeting," because, as a contemporary annalist says, "there was never a man among them but he was drunk at the time, except only the Lord Lee." This act prohibited the clergy who had not conformed to episcopacy, "to exercise any part of the function of the ministry at their respective churches in time coming, which are hereby declared to be vacant;"—payment of their stipends was forbidden, and it was enjoined that their hearers "do not acknowledge them for their lawful pastors in repairing to their sermons, under the pain of being punished as frequenters of private conventicles and meetings."

On the enforcement of this order 350 clergymen abandoned their livings. They of course, in doing so, did not give up the clerical character, with which they held themselves invested by a higher power than that of the state; on the contrary, they believed that there was all the more need for their ministra-

tions among a people subjected to temptations to abjure their religion. Had they then been permitted to act as ministers to those who chose to follow them, trusting to support from the zeal of their flocks upon the voluntary system, it might have been so far well. But this was not to be allowed. An act was passed to make it a crime for them to administer religious ordinances, and to punish those who attended at any but the authorized parish church.

4. THE DRAG-NET.—It was thus that the covenanting party were driven to hold their secret meetings for worship, called Conventicles, in the retired glens among the mountains or other places adapted for concealment. In spite of the vigilant means adopted to track and disperse such assemblages, it was known that they often escaped detection; and the emptiness of the parish churches proved the extent of disaffection with the new system. To remedy this an act was passed, termed “the Bishops’ Drag-net,” designed not only to prohibit people from attending illegal worship, but to compel them to attend that which was counted legal. It enjoined penalties on all those who “ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings in their own parish church for divine worship on the Lord’s day.” When it was afterwards found that women were the chief attenders at conventicles, the head of the house was made liable for the absence of his wife or daughters from the parish church.

SEVERITIES—TORTURE.—To enforce the object of these acts, and produce actual religious conformity, was impossible; but it was easy to make them the means of perpetrating great cruelty. In 1664, the Court of High Commission, in a shape as offensive at least as that which has been already described, was again constituted. The operations of this tribunal and of the High Court of Justiciary appearing to be insufficient for the objects of the dominant party, the privy-council interfered. Its proceedings were conducted under the pretence of making inquiries about matters in which the safety of the state was concerned, but they were accompanied with fines and other punishments. It was its special duty to apply the question, or torture, which obtained in Scotland from the bad practice of the Continental jurisprudence. The alleged principle on which it was employed was, that where there was criminal concealment, it forced a revelation either by frightening the victim or unnerving him. But man is not omniscient. He cannot be sure that there is criminal concealment, nor can he be sure that the answers

which torture extracts are nearer the truth than those obtained without it. He can only know the one fact before him,—that he is inflicting a grievous cruelty on a fellow-being.

The main instrument of torture was the boot, an engine of great antiquity, and in too frequent use over Europe. It consisted of four narrow wooden planks laced together with strong cords inserted in holes at the edges of the planks. These were so fastened as nearly to fit round the leg, and then iron wedges were driven in, small or large according to the extent of the torture to be inflicted. When large wedges were driven in, the bones of the leg were sometimes crushed and destroyed. Even Charles the Second's privy-councillors generally avoided such horrible exhibitions; and Burnet states that they would try to escape the infliction, so that it was difficult to find a quorum. A less horrible-looking instrument was afterwards invented called the thumbikin. It held the thumb fast, as if in an iron vice, while a small screw passed into the joint, producing, as it was thought, torture fully as severe as the more clumsy instrument applied to the leg.

Besides the central courts for enforcing the new system generally over the country, there was in addition to them a local agency, productive of more serious and immediate irritation. It was in the form of patrolling parties of soldiers, whose function it was to disperse field-meetings, and seize those found attending them, or to take notice of those who had incurred penalties for failure to attend the parish church. The principal leader of these parties was a reckless soldier, Sir James Turner. The law allowed to him and his bands an ample license; but when they exceeded it, as soldiers ever do, unless when under very rigid discipline, there was small likelihood of any redress being obtained.

5. RISING AT DALRY.—It chanced that in the winter of 1666 a few covenanting peasants, in the parish of Dalry, indignant at an act of oppression which they saw some soldiers committing against a poor man, interfered for his protection. In the scuffle which ensued a soldier was wounded. Whether it was to protect them from the punishment which would follow, or from a general feeling of excitement, many others joined them, and at length a formidable armed party marched to Dumfries, where they surprised and seized their enemy Turner. After some hesitation, and on his assuring them that he had acted with less severity than he was instructed, they spared

his life. Increasing by degrees, they amounted to about three thousand men, and put themselves under the command of two leaders, named Learmonth and Wallace, both peasants like themselves, for none of higher rank joined them. Astonished at their own success, they at last believed that they were invincible, as persons under the especial charge and direction of the Deity, and resolved to march on Edinburgh. There they created considerable alarm, and they had reached Corstorphine ere, in consequence of the preparations made to defend the town, they gave up the attempt to attack it.

**RULLION GREEN.**—In the mean time, General Dalryell of Binns had been sent with a party to disperse them. Dalryell was a man of ardent and relentless character. He wore a long flowing beard, professing that after the death of Charles I. he would never shave it, but would preserve it as a living monument of his grief and indignation. He had been in the service of the savage czar of Russia, where he became inured to scenes of cruelty. A characteristic anecdote is told of his once, in the council-chamber, having struck a prisoner over the mouth with his dagger for calling him "a Muscovy beast who used to roast men."

Dalryell, when he marched to Lanark, was astonished to find himself outmanœuvred by the insurgents. Returning, he met them at Rullion Green, on the Pentland hills, where, although they fought with spirit, he gained an easy victory. Of the captives many were executed, and the torture, as it has been already described, was freely administered. One of the victims, named M'Kail, created much sympathy. He was a well-educated young man, the brother of a chemist of celebrity in his day, Matthew M'Kail. Educated to the church, he enthusiastically embraced covenanting principles. His connexion with the rising was very slight; but he was put to death after suffering with fortitude the torture of the boot in its most appalling form. It is from him that Scott evidently drew the character of Ephraim M'Briar in "Old Mortality."

**IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE COUNTRY.**—Among such exciting events, some other effects of the Restoration government are apt to be overlooked. It produced at once a severance of that union with England under which the country had greatly profited during the Commonwealth. Again England and Scotland became separate nations, each levelling duties on exports and imports against the trade of the other. In the navigation act which superseded that of Cromwell, Scotland was treated

as a foreign country, and lost the share which she had obtained of the valuable commerce of England. The colonies, and the privilege of trading with them, were held to belong solely to England, and Scotland was in this respect treated in the same manner as Spain or Russia. It was noticed that the country was creeping back into its old poverty, especially in the western districts; and Glasgow, which had been rising to importance, was becoming depopulated.

**A UNION SUGGESTED.**—This was in a great measure perhaps owing to the miserable religious disputes of the time, but in part it was no doubt occasioned by the isolation of Scotland. A reunion according to the arrangement of the Commonwealth was suggested as a natural remedy, and in 1667 commissioners were appointed by the two countries to treat of such a measure. The trading jealousies of the English, however, which the strong voice of Cromwell had silenced, proved invincible. To the claim of Scotland for a free trade, their commissioners gave a resolute negative, and a participation in the colonial privileges was denied.

**6. CHANGE OF POLICY.**—The contest at Rullion Green effectually awoke the attention of the court in London to the state of Scotland. An actual outbreak and a battle roused the king from his life of easy enjoyment, by recalling to him too forcibly the events of his father's reign. It was remembered that Lauderdale, who competed for the office of prime minister, had recommended a more moderate course. Middleton with some of his followers was therefore dismissed from office; and Archbishop Sharpe, who had been the most bitter of the persecutors, was directed to withdraw himself from public business and betake himself to retirement.

**LAUDERDALE.**—Lauderdale was nominally a presbyterian; but he was a man of profligate life and opinions, who cared very little for any religion. He was a gross and sensual liver, and his repulsive aspect answered to this character. He had no other object in his political career, except to increase his own power and wealth; and he was urged forward in his aggrandizing course by his wife, who was very ambitious, and possessed far higher talents than his. He demurred, as we have seen, to the instantaneous and absolute measures for the restoration of episcopacy; but, as we shall presently notice, in carrying out the measures which he thought fit to adopt, he was as cruel as his predecessor.

**THE INDULGENCE.**—In the summer of 1669, the new govern-



ment issued a declaration of indulgence, by which the presbyterian clergymen who had been ejected were permitted to do duty in vacant parishes, under certain limitations and conditions, which provided especially for their acknowledgment of allegiance to the government. Many of the clergy, who in quiet times would have been the most valuable members of their profession, accepted this indulgence; but their flocks did not follow them. Whatever effect it might have had at the commencement to permit the presbyterian clergy to remain conditionally in their charges, the concession was now too late. The recent proceedings had created an inevitable hostility between a large portion of the people and the government. They joined that extreme party which stood for the sole supremacy of the covenant, and they looked upon those clergymen who abandoned the perils of field-preaching and accepted of the indulgence, as so many spiritual shepherds who had basely deserted their flocks. The failure of his plan of conciliation only made a man like Lauderdale ferociously determined to punish those who would not accept it. It was quoted as one of his sayings, that "it were better the west bore nothing but windlestraws and sandy laverocks, than traitors to the king."

LETTERS OF INTERCOMMUNING.—Besides a great increase in the ferocious methods of persecution, accompanied by an enlargement of the military force employed in carrying it out, some totally new and peculiar plans were adopted for the annoyance of the people of the west, high and low. By an old law, those who intercommuned with criminals, or aided them in escaping from justice, were liable to heavy penalties. A large number of persons were declared to be outlawed and fugitive from justice, and the friends or relations who sheltered any of them were held amenable to this law. Thus in the western counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dumfries, it might be said that there were very few people who were not liable to punishment, either for having attended conventions, or for having given shelter to some fugitive charged with having done so.

BONDS.—It was not an uncommon practice in that and earlier times for landlords to give bail or bond for the conduct of their turbulent tenants. The highland chiefs, who had a sort of absolute power over their clansmen, were systematically compelled to do this. The government now required the landlords in the western lowlands to become bound for the conduct of

their tenants. It would have been an act of the grossest imprudence to have voluntarily complied with such a demand, since these tenants were independent, self-willed, and resolute, and any landlord would have been but subjecting himself to certain penalties by such an obligation.

**LAWBURROWS.**—Legal ingenuity soon devised a plan to force compliance, or at all events to treat the people as if they had complied. By an old practice in Scotland, a person who apprehends violence from another may have him bound over to keep the peace by obtaining "letters of lawburrows" against him. The government on this occasion took out letters of lawburrows against all those who refused to sign the bond, as persons from whom violence was to be expected.

**HIGHLAND HOST.**—In the year 1678 an extraordinary addition was made to the military scourges of the western lowlands. The predatory habits and martial disposition of the highlanders being well known, a large body of them was invited to march into the covenanting districts, avowedly for the purpose of acting as a police force to quell disturbances. Finding themselves permitted to do as they pleased, they plundered the movables around them, and retreated to their hills, each taking with him as much property as he could carry.

7. These acts spread a terrible gloom and superstition over the minds of the people. The actual sufferings of many drove them to despair and madness. And when they were wandering at night through dreary bogs and the howling wilderness, or spending days of privation and apprehension in caves, their excited imaginations taught them to see supernatural visions: some bright and heavenly,—others dark and infernal,—while strange voices in the air seemed to prophesy coming events. The apprehension so widely spread throughout society carried these superstitious portents with it, and the national character appeared to be changed from its former cheerfulness to gloom and ferocity.

**SHARPE AND THE COVENANTERS.**—It was natural that vindictive feelings should in such circumstances enter men's minds, and the apostate Sharpe was the object towards which they chiefly turned. He was, indeed, believed to be a person of not merely ordinary human wickedness, but to have a compact with the evil one, to whom he had bartered his soul for worldly grandeur; and strange stories were told and believed of secret conferences, of violent disputes heard in his chamber when no one had been admitted to it, and of his fetch or second self

being seen in his study at St Andrews, when he was in the body attending the administration of the torture in Edinburgh.

So early as the year 1668 a man fired at him in the High Street of Edinburgh, but, missing him, wounded Honeymann, the bishop of Glasgow. Six years afterwards the watchful and apprehensive archbishop recognised the man, and he was apprehended. His name was Mitchell, and he proved to be one of the persons driven to a partial insanity by the severity of the times. When he was asked what motive he had for firing at the archbishop, he said, "The grievous oppression and horrid bloodshed of my brethren, and the eager pursuit after my own."

The archbishop and his friends were extremely anxious to obtain a full confession from this man, that they might know the full extent of danger they were liable to from any murderous confederacy. He would make no revelations, however, except under a promise of pardon, and this was granted to him. Yet on that confession he was convicted and executed. His counsel, the celebrated Sir George Lockhart, pleaded the pardon that had been granted as the condition of confession. Lauderdale and the other privy-councillors had to undergo an examination on the point. They flatly denied the promise; yet, while these denials are recorded in the books of the criminal court, the promise of pardon still stands inscribed in the books of the privy-council. This untruth, which was extensively known at the time, added the scandal of meanness to the already flagrant iniquities of the administration. It was said that the culprit would have been spared, but that Sharpe insisted on his execution, not believing himself safe while he remained alive. But this did not save the bishop, but rather exasperated his enemies.

**MURDER OF SHARPE.**—On the 3d of May 1679, as a party of the sterner kind of covenanters, consisting of John Balfour of Burley, Hackston of Rathillet, and several others, were prowling about in Fifeshire in search of the sheriff, on whom they intended to wreak their vengeance, a cry was raised that the archbishop was approaching in his coach. The fanatics, conceiving that a special intervention of Providence had sent them a more valuable victim than him they were in search of, pursued the coach, dragged him out, and remorselessly slew him with their broadswords. This one crime, it may be observed, was the only act of assassination committed for political or religious objects in the course of the civil wars beginning

with the covenant, and it will be remembered how frequent such deeds were in the preceding century.

8. WESTERN RISING.—The murderers of Sharpe, by a bold and perilous journey, reached the stronghold of their party in the western wilds, where they were received and protected. The government, instead of being warned by such an event that they were driving the people to madness, redoubled their severity. The presence of the murderers, indeed, in the west in some measure justified rigours, which, however, fell on the innocent as well as the guilty. It was at last felt that there was neither safety nor prudence in submission. Accordingly, some small knots of men, gathering together for mutual protection, took confidence from their numbers, and resolved to resist any attack that might be made on them.

CLAVERTHOUSE—DRUMCLOG.—Those who did not possess swords, guns, or pistols, armed themselves with hatchets, scythes, or any other lethal weapons they could find. Searching for a place to encamp on, they selected a suitable spot in a marsh called Drumclog, close to Loudon Hill. Their most vigorous and formidable enemy at that time was John Graham of Claverhouse, the commander of a troop of horse-guards employed in the service of harassing the covenanters. He was the son of the Laird of Dudhope, near Dundee, and, like many others of the Scottish gentry, had learned the duties of a soldier in foreign service. As the last act of his life showed, he had great military genius. It was employed, in the meantime, on a small and unworthy scale; but he was of such an ardent and resolute temper, that he never did things by halves, and he exhibited relentless severity in his treatment of the covenanters. As many of them were fanatics on one side indeed, he was a fanatic on the other, and neither party showed compunction or toleration.

Graham brought up his troops and attacked the covenanting camp at Drumclog with a reckless ardour in which there was too much careless contempt of his adversaries. To his astonishment and indignation the motley gathering repulsed his well-trained troopers, took a good many prisoners, and compelled the rest to flee in disorder.

He retired to Glasgow, where he had some difficulty in fortifying the town against an assault by the insurgents. These were now joined by so large a number that Graham with his small force thought it necessary to leave the west country at their disposal, and join the government in concerting measures

for suppressing what had risen into a formidable rebellion. In fact some of the landed gentlemen of the west, and other men of education and position, who had not hitherto identified themselves with the remonstrants or extreme covenanters, began to join the army. They were driven into resistance by the intolerable oppression to which they were subjected, and thought the country might be made better by their taking up arms, while it could not be made worse. Altogether, besides straggling parties, the insurgents at last formed an army of six or seven thousand men.

MONMOUTH.—When the news of this insurrection reached London, it was deemed advisable not to leave its suppression to the Scottish statesmen who had caused it. The natural son of the king, the young Duke of Monmouth, subsequently so unhappily famous, was considered the head of the protestant party in England. It was thought that he might be the best person to mingle conciliatory prospects with the necessary severity, as he was not mixed up with local questions, and would not be suspected, as his uncle the Duke of York might have been, of fighting the battle of popery.

A general muster was now made throughout the country. An army was raised, to which the highland chiefs very readily contributed their share; but it was reluctantly and partially attended by the low country gentry, few of whom liked the service.

9. DISPUTES OF THE COVENANTERS.—The insurgents were in the meantime so largely increased that they might have offered a very formidable and protracted resistance if they had been well commanded and united among themselves. There was, however, a fatal source of disunion. A large number of them had been driven to take arms by a belief that in no other way could the government be made alive to the evils of the intolerable persecution they were undergoing. They wished to show the strength of the country, and obtain terms; and they professed that they were ready to lay down their arms if they obtained a tolerable certainty of being permitted to live in peace. These were taunted by the stern remonstrant party as lukewarm Erastians, who were ready to betray the sacred cause, now destined to be triumphant over every enemy. These extreme men would hear of no sort of compromise, being resolved not to sheathe the sword until they had put down every difference of opinion, and made the covenant the law of the three kingdoms. They maintained, indeed, that their

camp was polluted by the presence of such criminals as those who spoke of moderation and reconciliation, and proceeded to abjure the authority of the officers so tainted.

**BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE.**—While this critical discussion was at its height, news came that Monmouth's army was approaching their camp at Hamilton; but this only rendered them more eager to purge themselves of the taint. The moderate party wished to make terms with the duke, who had a high character for humanity; and their extreme brethren determined to fight, yet made no arrangement for the encounter. Thus the king's army came upon a disorganized host, who, as Bishop Burnett says, would not yield, would not fight, and <sup>22d June</sup> would not run away. <sup>1679.</sup> } The old narrow bridge over the Clyde, called Bothwell Bridge, from which the battle is named, might have been well defended, but only a few men under Hackston of Rathillet endeavoured to hold it, and when they were overpowered the whole mass was at the mercy of the victors. The Duke of Monmouth restricted the carnage in the field, but his clemency was not of much avail, since it placed a large number of prisoners at the mercy of the privy-council. Many of the principal captives—none of whom, however, were men of very high rank or note—were tried and executed. A large body of the others was penned up in the Greyfriars churchyard in Edinburgh, where they were crowded together without shelter, and subjected to extreme hardships. Of those many were sent away as slaves to the plantations, and but a few regained their liberty in Scotland.

**MILITARY EXECUTIONS.**—After this affair, and when the humane Duke of Monmouth had departed, the treatment of the western shires, and of all parts of the country supposed to contain covenanters, was, if possible, more rigorous than ever. Claverhouse, rendered savage by his humiliation at Drumclog, took vengeance far and wide. It was no longer necessary to act through the ordinary forms of law since there had been an actual rising in arms; and every peasant in the disturbed districts was treated as an enemy, and might be subjected to military execution. Small parties of the more desperate, indeed, still held out, thus giving a colour to these severities; and Hackston of Rathillet, the murderer of Sharpe, was only taken after a smart conflict. His fate was, of course, inevitable; but instead of bending himself humbly to it like a conscious criminal, he vindicated himself as the

just punisher of crime; and, as the author of the *Cloud of Witnesses* says, "Told them they were all bloody murderers, for all the power they had was derived from tyranny, and that in these years bygone they have not only tyrannized over the church of God, but have also grinded the faces of the poor, so that oppression, bloodshed, and many murders, were to be found in their skirts."

10. THE DUKE OF YORK.—In the year 1680, James, duke of York, the king's brother, was sent as high commissioner to administer the affairs of Scotland. The reason for this arrangement is a singular illustration of how little attention was paid at court to the condition of that country. The duke, by his adherence to the Roman-catholic faith, had rendered himself so unpopular in England, that he was sent to rule over the presbyterians of Scotland as a sort of banishment. The feeling of the alienated party was, however, already so bitter that the duke's religion could not make matters worse, and during his administration the harassments and cruelties went on as they had begun.

THE CAMERONIANS.—After the battle of Bothwell Bridge, the remonstrant party of the covenanters drew themselves more rigidly apart from their more lukewarm brethren, attributing their defeat, on that occasion, to their sin in permitting their cause to be mixed up with that of men who sought a middle course and conformed to the opinions of a sinful world. They acknowledged two distinguished clerical leaders, Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, from the latter of whom they became known by the name of Cameronians. He was killed in the skirmish in which Hackston of Rathillet was taken. Cargill, who had borne extreme hardships and perils, made a narrow escape from capture at Queensferry. A document was found by his pursuers, called the Queensferry Covenant, more violent and exclusive in its tone than the Solemn League and Covenant itself. A wise government would have let such a document pass unnoticed, but it was made the ground not only of accusation against Cargill, but for punishing as many more as could in any way be implicated in it. Cargill after his escape became more resolute in his denunciations. In September 1680, he assembled a large party in the Torwood, and there solemnly issued a sentence of excommunication against Charles II., his brother, and his ministers, enlarging with great emphasis on their impiety and wickedness. He was at last apprehended and executed; and it is singular

enough that, in the accusation against him, he is charged with popish doctrines in assuming the power to excommunicate sovereigns.

11. THE TEST AND ARGYLL.—It now appeared as if the profligate Scottish statesmen, who had got so much power into their hands, were determined to take advantage of the confusion to make a general pillage of the landed property of the country. As if to lay a trap for catching people and stripping them of their possessions, a test, appointed to be taken by men in office, contained contradictions which it was impossible to reconcile, for it required an avowal of the Confession of Faith, along with a contradiction of its fundamental principles. It was expected that Argyll, who had been reinstated in a great portion of his father's domains, would be caught in this snare. He took the test—but it was with an explanation. On this he was charged with high-treason, and knowing himself to be in the hands of relentless foes, he escaped. An act of forfeiture was passed against him, and his enemies obtained his estates, which were their chief object.

THE RYEHOUSE PLOT—FERGUSON THE PLOTTER.—In the year 1683 occurred the melancholy events of the Ryehouse Plot in England, and of the execution of Russel and Sidney. By one set of men a great project was entertained for checking the career of the court and establishing constitutional government in England. But some of the subordinate agents in this design mixed it up with a plot contrived by a few profligate men to assassinate the king and his brother. The chief agent connecting the two was a Scotsman named Fergusson the plotter, from his propensity to become a participator in every scheme he could connect himself with, without caring on which side—for in his day he had plotted for covenanters, episcopalians, republicans, and royalists. He had often made the narrowest possible escapes from capture. One instance occurred when he was known to be in Edinburgh after the Ryehouse Plot. While the whole town was carefully ransacked for him, he had found a peculiar hiding-place by paying a visit to a friend imprisoned in the jail.

Several Scottish gentlemen, who had been preparing to emigrate from their wretched country, remained to head a rising in Scotland, which was to co-operate with the English movement. On this ground the number apprehended or denounced as outlaws is said to have amounted to two thousand. Two of the most distinguished of them escaped—Lord Mel-



ville, and Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, who concealed himself in a family burying-vault, where he was attended by his little daughter. Baillie of Jerviswood, another man of worth and eminence, though aged and infirm, suffered death.

12. SUCCESSION OF JAMES—MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.—On the 6th of February 1685, Charles died, and his brother King James II. of England and VII. of Scotland succeeded to the throne. The commencement of his reign became remarkable in England by the attempt of Monmouth to make out that he was a legitimate son of Charles II., and by his invasion of England suppressed at the battle of Sedgemoor. Argyll, who was abroad and in communication with Monmouth's friends, resolved to attempt a rising in Scotland. He landed in his own territory, and gathered round him a considerable body of the retainers, with whom he proposed to join the western covenanters. Owing, however, to disputes with the friends who had accompanied him, the project was abandoned, and the army broke up. Argyll was seized while attempting to escape, and as a vote of forfeiture had already passed against him, he was executed without trial.

DUNOTTAR.—The danger from this attempt was made an excuse for removing to a distance the multitude of prisoners in custody on political charges. They were marched to the north, to be confined within the fortress of Dunottar. There they were thrust indiscriminately into dungeons insufficient to afford them the necessary air. Many of them died a cruel death from the hardships they encountered; and a vault in Dunottar Castle, one of the places in which they were confined, and known as the Whigs' vault, has often been visited by sympathizing pilgrims.

JAMES'S GOVERNMENT.—The short reign of King James is perhaps in English annals more interesting than any other period of equal length. It is the history of that systematic interference with the constitution which, on reaching its climax, satisfied the English people, that unless they could devise some remedy they would fall under the dominion of an arbitrary ruler,—a fate which in their eyes was rendered much more formidable by the fact that he was a Roman-catholic, who would join in the policy, civil and religious, of the popish despots of the Continent. Thus the history of his reign is that of the alienation of a great people from their hereditary king, ending in a resolution to change the line of succession, and obtain securities against the abuse of the authority of the monarch.

In Scotland, however, the estrangement had been rendered complete by the proceedings which have been already described, and the majority of the nation were ready to co-operate in forwarding the revolution.

The persecution continued during the reign of James, though it was narrowed in its operation to the Cameronians and the other more zealous or violent covenanters. It was the king's object to have the penal laws against the Roman-catholics suspended, and he could not accomplish this without extending forbearance to some others. When he desired the parliament to pass an act of toleration, he was met by evasions, and for the first time the government showed no inclination to carry out the wishes of the king. Several changes were made in the administration for the purpose of obtaining more pliancy, and the Chancellor Drummond set the example of conforming to the king's faith. The only important arbitrary act, resembling those which so much enraged the English, was a withdrawal from the burghs of the right to elect their own magistrates, as these had shown themselves hostile to the royal will.

13. THE TOLERATION.—In the meantime the king, resolving to take on himself to grant a toleration without the intervention  
 4th Sept. } of parliament, issued a proclamation dispensing with  
 1688. } the test and annulling the penal statutes. The terms in which this document was issued were a contradiction to its tolerant spirit, and must have warned the people that the next step might be in the other direction. It bore to be "by our sovereign authority, prerogative, royal and absolute power, which all our subjects are to observe without reserve." It gave toleration to the moderate presbyterians, but it appointed that "field conventicles, and such as preach or exercise at them, shall be prosecuted according to the utmost severity of our laws."

The violent party had indeed excepted themselves, since they would not acknowledge any king or government but such as engaged absolutely to carry out their views, and they formed themselves into an isolated body called the Corresponding Societies, which managed their own business by meetings, and had their able-bodied members, to the number of seven or eight thousand men, trained in arms. The moderate presbyterians accepted of the indulgence, which was not clogged by conditions, to which they could not accede, like that offered by Lauderdale. Many of them preached in Edin-

burgh and other towns to crowded congregations, taking eager advantage of the unwonted opportunity of following their worship in peace.

**PRINCE OF ORANGE'S ARRIVAL.**—Such was the state of Scotland when the rumours of the expedition of the Prince of Orange reached the country in November 1688. During the exciting events which attended the flight of King James from London, and the accomplishment of the Revolution in England, it may be said that Scotland stood quietly by. The only incident disturbing the sort of breathless tranquillity which pervaded the country, was a conflict partaking of the nature of a street riot in Edinburgh, which has to be mentioned in the next chapter as the commencement of the Revolution in Scotland.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How was Charles II. received in Scotland? How did Sharpe act? Who were Middleton and Lauderdale?
2. What act was passed in 1662? What was the nature of the act rescissory? Give an account of three remarkable persons who were executed.
3. In what manner did the government drive the people into opposition? What was the position of the clergy in the south and west? What measure was adopted in Glasgow? Describe its effects.
4. Give an account of the measure called the Drag-net, and of the reason of its being so called. Through what instrumentality were these measures enforced? Give an account of the methods of torture. What local means of enforcement were employed?
5. What occurred at Dalry? Give an account of the progress of the insurrection. What was the condition of the country?
6. What change of policy was adopted? Who was intrusted with carrying it out? What was the effect of the indulgence? What were the letters of intercommuning? Explain the operation of the bonds and lawburrows. What was the next infiction?
7. Describe the effect of these measures. Mention some incidents connected with Sharpe's career. Give an account of his murder.
8. How did it affect the western rising? Who was Claverhouse? Give an account of the affair at Drumelglo. Who was Monmouth?
9. What was the state of the covenanting army? Describe the battle of Bothwell Bridge. What followed it?
10. In what circumstances was the Duke of York sent to Scotland? Who were the Cameronians? What occurred in the Torwood?
11. What was the nature of the test? Who was convicted for refusing it? To what extent was the Rye-house Plot connected with Scotland? Who suffered for the rising?
12. When did James VII. succeed? Give an account of the attempt of Argyll, and his fate? What occurred at Dunottar? What was the character of King James's government?
13. What proclamation did the king issue? What reason was there for supposing it to be deceptive? How was it received?

## CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE  
DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND, A.D. 1688—1695.

Riot at Holyrood—Presbyterians and Episcopalians—Removal of the Army—Vote of Forfeiture—Acceptance of William and Mary—Jacobites and Cameronians—Graham of Claverhouse—Mackay—Highland Campaign—Killiecrankie—Consequences of the Battle—Battle of Dunkeld—Haughs of Cromdale—Siege of the Bass—Parliamentary Proceedings—Montgomery's Plot—Settlement of the Church—Cameronians—Conflicts between the King and the Church—The Episcopalians—Projects as to the Highlands—Massacre of Glencoe—Trade Jealousies of England.

1. RIOT AT HOLYROOD.—A college, professedly for the purpose of the instruction of youth, had been established by King James in the palace of Holyrood, the teachers of which were believed to belong to the society of Jesuits, so offensive, not only among protestants, but to a large portion of the Church of Rome. With this Jesuit college the fine old Abbey church of Holyrood, of which a few fragments now remain, was connected, and fitted up with all the ceremonials of the Romish worship. A mob of the humbler class of citizens having gathered in front of the palace, threatening to attack it, the commander of the small guard in charge of the edifice thought it necessary to parade his men in the front esplanade. There being assailed by the mob, they fired their pieces and some people were killed. A cry now arose that the soldiers were slaying the citizens, and the burgher guard, along with many of the respectable inhabitants, came to the rescue. The palace guard was overpowered, and the rabble finding their way into the chapel, tore down its decorations. Although the populace was in a state of extreme irritation and excitement, violent acts were more rare than might have been anticipated. The Chancellor Drummond, Lord Perth, was extremely unpopular as a convert to catholicism. His colleagues in the government indeed hinted to him that he was in danger from the penal laws, which prohibited those of his religion from holding office, and which were by no means legally suspended by the king's proclamation. In attempting to make his escape, he was rudely treated by the fishermen of Burntisland, and being discovered was brought back. He was for some time imprisoned, and was the only statesman who suffered either vio-

lence or punishment after the Revolution, for the share taken by him in the government.

**PRESBYTERIANS AND EPISCOPALIANS.**—In the west country the covenanters rose, and in a very systematic manner ejected the episcopal clergy from their manse, depriving them of the use of the churches. The proceeding was not according to law, and naturally some violence and insult accompanied it, but on the whole it was executed with praiseworthy moderation.

The presbyterians who had taken advantage of the indulgence were in general passive, for, although relieved from annoyances and anxieties, they had some misgivings about the character of the power that had relieved them, and the use it might be afterwards put to if it remained unquestioned. The episcopalians, who had disliked the recent proceedings of King James, were his most zealous friends; but many of them had become disgusted by the scenes witnessed in Scotland during the preceding quarter of a century, and felt little inclination to exert themselves in such a cause. The only men who expressed a strong feeling of sympathy for the king, when his misfortunes were gathering round him, were the bishops, who had imbibed the theory of divine right, and professed their horror of the measures taken against him.

**REMOVAL OF THE ARMY.**—The army, which had been kept in working discipline in Scotland by the proceedings against the covenanters, might have been very formidable at this juncture, if it had not by incidental circumstances been removed to a distance. King James, at the commencement of the Revolution in England, had sent orders for the Scottish troops, consisting of six or seven thousand men, to march to London to his assistance. The commander of this force was James Douglas, duke of Queensberry; but his second in command, as major-general, was Graham of Claverhouse, who, as a skilful and daring leader, had much more influence with the soldiery.

They passed by tedious marches southwards, and ere they reached their destination, Claverhouse had the mortification to find, that in England the Revolution was virtually completed. It is believed that he had personal interviews with the unfortunate King James, on whom he urged, with all the ardour of his nature, the folly of abandoning a crown without fighting for it, offering to lead his Scottish troops, and any portion of the English army that would join him, against the Prince of Orange. To his no small mortification, however, the king

made his escape to France, and the Scottish army, or such part of it as remained, was put under the command of an aged officer of revolution principles, General Mackay of Scourie, in Ross-shire ; while Claverhouse, with a small body of troopers who were personally attached to him, returned to Scotland, where we shall shortly hear of him.

2. VOTE OF FORFEITURE.—In England, the Revolution had been accomplished by the parliament's acknowledging William and Mary as king and queen, before any step had been taken in Scotland. When some of the most important persons connected with Scottish politics attended the court of King William, he recommended them to call a Convention of the Estates, assuring them of his aid and advice. This was prudent conduct, for Scotland would have felt very jealous had England appeared to dictate to her on so delicate a matter as the rejection of one monarch and the selection of another.

When the estates assembled, there was a large majority in favour of the Revolution. In England, there had been long debates in the two houses on the question how King James should be treated. On the face of the resolutions which excluded him from the throne and put another in his stead, it was made to appear as if he had left it vacant, and the parliament merely acknowledged the Prince and Princess of Orange as the new occupants.

In Scotland there was no such logical difficulty. A series of unconstitutional acts committed in the two preceding reigns was enumerated. The sovereign "had converted the limited monarchy with which he was intrusted into an arbitrary despotism ; he had imposed oaths and tests contrary to law ; he had exacted money without consent of parliament ; he had covered the country with an irresponsible and oppressive standing army, not sanctioned by the constitution ; he had made the soldiers of this standing army supersede the constitutional judges, and inflict penalties which reached even to death itself, without legal trial ; he had extended the use of judicial torture beyond its legal limits ; he had imposed fines and forfeitures without trial, or on stretches of obsolete laws : he had suppressed the privileges of the municipal corporations, because they were a refuge from his tyranny ; he had corrupted and intimidated the bench, dictating the judgments they were to give, and altering the constitution of the courts to make them pliant." It was counted an aggravation of these offences that, in the words of the resolution, he "being

a professed papist did assume the regal power, and acted as king without taking the oath required by law." In the end it was simply declared that he "had forfeited the right to the crown, and the throne is become vacant."

ACCEPTANCE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.—The question now was, how the vacant throne should be filled, and it was natural to look to those who were already king and queen of England. King William was the nephew of James. Mary was his eldest daughter, and was believed to be his heir, for though a son had just been born to the unhappy monarch before his flight, a series of suspicious accidents had made the nation believe that the child had been surreptitiously smuggled into the palace, and hence it was always called the Pretender.

A claim of right was passed, containing remedies for the abuses attributed to the preceding reigns. It was to be presented to the new king as the condition on which he was understood to receive the sovereignty, and certain commissioners were appointed to wait on him and offer the crown, which was accepted. Looking to the condition of Scotland, King William, who was a man of tolerant views, was afraid that he would be called on to avenge the sufferings of the presbyterians by persecuting their opponents, especially when he found that the coronation oath bound him to "be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God;" but it was observed to him that the oath did not say what was the true worship, and he was thus left at liberty to join in any settlement of religion that might be agreed on by him and the parliament. In the mean time, on the 11th of April 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland.

3. JACOBITES AND CAMERONIANS.—It was natural that so great a change in the government would not be unanimously adopted by the nation. The departed king had still many partisans, whose families carried down their adherence to the House of Stuart even to the middle of the last century. They received the name of Jacobites, from Jacobus, the Latin word for James. In the convention they formed a small minority, and found it necessary to abandon their opposition. The army having been withdrawn into England, there were no regular troops on either side. The Cameronians, who had formed themselves into a military body, marched to Edinburgh, where, being supplied with arms, they acted as a sort of guard to the convention, who, however, knowing their extreme views, would probably have dispensed with such protection had they

found any other. They were at the same time employed in a task which, to untrained troops, was extremely difficult—the siege of Edinburgh Castle, which was held by a Jacobite garrison.

GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, being created Viscount Dundee, had reappeared in Edinburgh, with the small body of horsemen who had accompanied him from England, and had it not been for the presence of the Cameronians, he would probably have attempted some desperate enterprise against the convention. He was a member of the house, where he complained in bitter terms that he and Mackenzie, who had been the lord-advocate under the persecution, were not safe in walking the streets or attending parliament. The convention, believing that he was well able to defend himself, did not hold it necessary to interfere; upon which he left the assembly in a fury, and collecting his small troop, galloped out of the town, and passed along on the border of the North Loch by the ridge now occupied by Princes Street. When he had reached the western side of the castle he dismounted, and clambered up the rock to a little postern in the wall, now built up. Here he held an animated conference with the Duke of Gordon, the Jacobite governor of the fortress, and it is believed that he recommended its being held out until he should raise the highlands and receive assistance from Ireland.

When Graham was asked whither he was going, he said, "Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall lead me." It appears that he had become ambitious of emulating the fame of his great namesake, and remembering how Montrose had made an army for himself, he conceived the project of raising the highlanders, who were still the same restless beings as ever, and were ready to undertake any cause opposed to the ruling powers of the day. He went to his paternal mansion of Dudhope, near Dundee. It was suspected by the convention that he had begun a correspondence with the highland chiefs, and he was ordered to return to his seat in parliament; but he refused, alleging that he was not safe in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. He was then outlawed by the convention, and an armed party was sent to seize him, in a small house in Glen Ogilvie, to which he had retired; but too vigilant for his pursuers, he evaded them, and escaped to the highlands with his followers.

4. MACKAY.—Meanwhile a Scottish force, called "the three



Dutch regiments," because they were raised to serve in Holland, was ordered to England, and thence marched to Scotland under General Mackay, already mentioned. He was sent in pursuit of Claverhouse, but being a military man of the older school, and deliberate in his motions, his enemy got far before him, and was embodying a highland army in Inverness-shire, while Mackay was still in the valley of the Dee. Two great leaders of clans, Macdonald of Keppoch and Cameron of Lochiel, with several other smaller bodies, made up a force of three or four thousand men. Claverhouse found that Keppoch had assembled nine hundred men near Inverness, and having nothing else to do, he was proceeding to pillage the town, when Claverhouse came up, and bargained for its ransom. He had a very difficult game to play in keeping his highland troops together. They would allow no interference with their peculiar clan discipline, and Graham was too sagacious to attempt to control it, contenting himself with extracting from them as much military service as he could obtain on their own terms. They required to be kept in perpetual action or expectation of some event, getting impatient and dropping away when there was no excitement to interest them. They were at the same time, from long habit, insatiable plunderers, and thus, after any success, they would run home with their spoil, leaving both cause and leader to their fate.

**HIGHLAND CAMPAIGN.**—Mackay, who had but a small force, was in imminent peril of being overwhelmed by the army thus rapidly gathered, and was glad to fortify himself in the cathedral town of Elgin; but when Claverhouse retired into the wilds of Lochaber, Mackay fortified Inverness, as being a more central and effective position than Elgin. His Dutch regiments were soon reinforced, and he nearly succeeded in surprising and capturing his opponent, who was stationed with his army, much reduced in numbers, at Edinglassie, in the upper district of Aberdeenshire. As usual, however, his adversary was too nimble for the old soldier, and kept out of his reach until he should again recruit his forces.

Mackay in the meantime went back to Edinburgh to urge on the government some projects which he entertained for the pacification of the highlands, when he heard that Dundee was marching on Blair Castle. That edifice, of which the remains now constitute a mansion-house, was deemed in those days an important fortress owing to its strength and position.

The highlanders, with all their courage, were very deficient as besiegers of walled buildings; and Blair commanded more than one important pass to the interior of the highlands.

The highland followers took the side adopted by their chief, whatever it might be. It appeared that Lord Atholl and his sons could not be got effectually to declare themselves for the Jacobite or the Revolution cause. Like many other powerful men in that age of changes, they wished to study the signs of the times, and see which party was most likely to obtain the permanent command, ere they committed themselves. Claverhouse, however, was not a man likely to tolerate hesitation, and having gained over the factor, Stewart of Ballochinn, he instructed him, in the absence of Lord Atholl, to hold the castle for King James, taking merit with Lord Atholl for seeing that his people did their duty in his absence.

5. **KILLIECRANKIE.**—Mackay set off to recover Blair Castle before Claverhouse could reach it; but, as usual, he was too late, and the Jacobite army surrounded it before he had gone far on his journey. Still he advanced beyond Dunkeld, resolving as he had a superior force to attack Claverhouse in the highlands. To reach him, it was necessary to penetrate the celebrated pass of Killiecrankie, by which the river Garry cuts a deep precipitate passage through a mountain-barrier. Through such a narrow road no one could proceed if it were in possession of an enemy, and Mackay, according to the usual military rules, sent forward a small detachment to occupy it, so that he might march through unopposed. This party expected the aid of some of the Atholl highlanders, but, as might have been conjectured from the conduct of their chiefs, they did not appear. The pass was guarded, however, so that Mackay was enabled to conduct his army safely through the gorge. At its upper end he was on comparatively level ground; but still, though above the narrow cleft in the rocks, he found himself in a basin or valley with heights nearly all around. From these heights an enemy could assail him with advantage, and he must either fight or retrace his steps, where he would be in still greater danger.

On the news of his approach, Claverhouse and his highland army left Blair-Atholl. They had but four or five miles to go, and keeping the upper ridges of the hills, they were seen by Mackay in scattered groups on the skyline of the mountains, as soon as he had disengaged his troops from the intri-

cacies of the defile. He brought up his men on a slip of comparatively level ground, near the house of Urrard, which, converted into a modern mansion, may still be seen through the trees. Claverhouse commanded about 3000 men, Mackay about 5000, but many of the latter were raw recruits. Claverhouse's men were partly his own old and well-trained cavalry, but chiefly highlanders, who, posted on the brow of a mountain, with their enemy below, were in the best possible position for taking full advantage of their own peculiar method of warfare.

Mackay's ranks were thin and far spread, as he was afraid of being attacked on the flank. Claverhouse, liable to no such risk, formed his highlanders in clusters, according to their clans, and with his cavalry in the centre, came rushing down in masses on the enemy's weak and extended line, which was instantaneously broken through in several places. Those who encountered the onset were cut down or driven headlong through the pass, where the assailants followed them. It thus happened that a small portion of Mackay's line, including himself, which had not been encountered in this sudden rush, remained where it had been stationed in the rear of both armies. The other general was also there, but he was helpless. A bullet had hit him a mortal wound under the arm-pit, probably as he was lifting his hand to give an order. He died on the field, and was carried to Blair-Atholl, where he was buried in the parish church, now in ruins.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE.—Mackay, unconscious at first that the soul of the insurrection had thus departed, gathered the remnant of his forces, and through many difficulties retreated to Stirling. The news of the battle, unaccompanied at first by a statement of Claverhouse's death, created great consternation in Edinburgh, and it was proposed to abandon the northern districts of Scotland, and attempt to preserve the Revolution government only in the districts southwards of the Tay.

With the death of Claverhouse, however, the cause of King James in Scotland was lost. The news of the victory brought an immediate increase to the highland army. The new commander, Colonel Cannon, was, however, like Mackay himself, a disciplinarian of the ordinary school, and the highlanders disliking his regularity and strict discipline, gradually crept away to their glens.

**6. BATTLE OF DUNKELD.**—Cannon marched northwards along the east slope of the Grampians, Mackay keeping on a parallel line with him in the lowlands. In the meanwhile, a portion of those zealous covenanters who had acted as an armed guard round the convention of estates, were embodied as regular troops, and formed the celebrated Cameronian regiment. They were marched northwards to aid in subduing the Jacobites. They had reached the Perthshire highlands when they heard that a general attack was to be made upon them by large bodies of highlanders, and they therefore resolved to defend themselves in the cathedral town of Dunkeld, in a deep valley at the entrance of the highlands. Having the old cathedral and the mansion of the Duke of Atholl as fortresses, they offered a determined resistance. Their gallant young commander, Cleland, the author of a clever satirical poem on the "highland host" sent against the covenanters, was killed. The method of defence which he had planned was however

31st August } effective, and the irregular but large body of assail-
1689. } ants was driven back.

**HAUGHS OF CROMDALE.**—In the ensuing spring the highland army, much diminished, was led along the valley of the Spey by its new commander, Buchanan, who also, like Cannon, was destitute of the peculiar military qualifications for gaining the attachment of the highlanders. He had encamped his troops one evening on a flat meadow, or haugh, called Cromdale, near Grantown. Livingston, a commander under Mackay, who had at his disposal a small body of horse, knowing how helpless the highlanders were when opposed to cavalry on a plain, arranged a night-attack on Buchanan's force, and completely routed it. The affair of "the Haughs of Cromdale" was the last of any moment in the war of the Revolution.

**SIEGE OF THE BASS.**—Edinburgh Castle had ere this time capitulated, and the last body who were enabled really to hold out for King James, were a few adventurous young gentlemen who had managed to get possession of the Bass Rock, then fortified in accordance with the imperfect method of the day. They were in number only between twenty and thirty, yet they managed to take several vessels containing provisions, to levy contributions along the coast, and, what is more extraordinary, to resist the attempts of several war-vessels sent against them. They thus continued to hold out until the year 1694, when they were admitted to terms of capitulation. This

incident, when compared with modern bombardments, is a singular illustration of the great progress which has been made in naval warfare.

Ere the Bass capitulated, an arrangement had been made with the followers of Claverhouse, among whom there were about 150 men of the rank of officers connected with the country gentry. While the highlanders dispersed, these engaged to pass over to France, where they served as common soldiers, and became remarkable in that humble capacity by several daring acts in the War of the Spanish Succession, then just commencing.

7. PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—During these warlike operations important changes were made, both in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The representative system was carried more fully out in election to parliament, and the burghs recovered what was deemed their old popular constitution. The Lords of the Articles, through whom the government influence was exercised in parliament, were particularly offensive to the Revolution party. The king and his immediate advisers would fain have continued the system in a modified shape, alleging that it was necessary to the transaction of business, which could not be carried on in its minute details by so large a body as the whole house. The system finally adopted, however, was imitated from the English parliament. There was to be no permanent committee like the Lords of the Articles, but a committee was to be separately chosen to adjust each department of business, and prepare it for the consideration of the whole house.

The principal statesmen who by their influence had carried out the Revolution, began to assert powers which indeed would have been inconsistent with the existence of a monarchy. Among other claims, they demanded that the judges should be named by the parliament; but on this point they were effectually resisted by the king, who succeeded in establishing a bench of his own selection. By the principles of a constitutional monarchy, all the officers of the crown are responsible to the representatives of the people, and it is generally impossible for any one to retain office who by his misconduct has rendered himself very obnoxious. But nothing tends more to impede responsibility than a selection to office by the votes of a collective body like the Estates. The persons who had the chief influence would have held the whole patronage and administration of the government in their hands, as an

aristocratic oligarchy, and King William protected the popular interests by keeping the appointment to office in the crown.

**MONTGOMERY'S PLOT.**—The selfishness which actuated the leading members of the Revolution party soon became too apparent. A portion of them, including Lord Annandale and Sir Robert Montgomery, who were disgusted at not receiving the appointments they desired, entered into a secret project for the restoration of King James, known as Montgomery's Plot. The executive power contented itself with the detection and submission of the plotters, who were left virtually unpunished, and some of them afterwards held office under the Revolution government.

**8. SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH.**—The most difficult question for the settlement of the new government was the ecclesiastical. In this respect the protestant inhabitants of Scotland might be considered as divided into three parts. In the north episcopacy prevailed. In the south-west the Cameronians were the most numerous party, and the central district was occupied by the friends of a moderate presbyterian polity. It was the desire of the king to make as little change as possible in the existing local state of the church, and to let all those clergymen remain in their benefices who chose politically to accept of the Revolution, though they were not presbyterians. At the beginning the Cameronians, as has been already said, expelled the episcopalian clergy in their own district. This was of course the part of the country where, as the people were the most bitterly opposed to them, they were least needed and most offensive, and it was a sort of relief to the government to find them thus displaced, though the method was not very orderly. As to the others, a proclamation was issued against owning the authority of King James, or questioning that of King William and Queen Mary. This proclamation was appointed to be read from all the pulpits, and the clergy were enjoined to pray for the new king and queen. Those who refused to comply with these commands were to be deposed. The process of deposition was at first carried out by the convention, but afterwards by a committee of the privy-council. This was in many instances a test of presbyterian soundness, for the episcopal clergy were nearly all attached to the exiled house. Some of them tried to practise an evasion—for instance, the minister of Leith prayed for "The King and Queen, William and Mary, and the rest of the royal family." In the south country a large number of clergymen were ejected for non-compliance ;

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but in the north, where episcopacy had its stronghold, there were none to bring forward accusations of disloyalty against the recusants.

In the meantime, there were still living about sixty of the presbyterian clergy who had been deprived of their benefices by the persecuting acts under Charles II. These met together in Edinburgh, and formed a centre round which the presbyterian party in the church gradually collected. They urged on the parliament sitting in 1690 the restoration of the presbyterian system. One important step towards the settlement

26th May } of religion was taken by the adoption of the Con-  
1690. } fession of Faith. It was not enacted as obligatory, with penalties against those who refused to adopt it, but was simply read over and considered, "and being voted and approved, was ordained to be recorded in the books of parliament." This did not re-establish the presbyterian system, for the Confession of Faith, containing announcements of doctrine, not rules of church-government, had never been repudiated during the time of episcopacy, but was the admitted creed of the church. The clergy wished the Estates to adopt in the same manner the "Directory of Worship" and "the Larger and Shorter Catechism," but the parliament did not think it necessary to pass a vote regarding them. Soon afterwards the presbyterian form of church courts was re-established by a special act.

9. CAMERONIANS.—The Cameronians and ultra-covenanting party were extremely irritated by these proceedings, which they held to indicate a culpable lukewarmness. They were not content with the adoption of the Confession of Faith, but desired the restoration of the Solemn League and Covenant, which was not a mere declaration of belief, but an obligation or oath, binding those who took it to extirpate prelacy and all error, and to enforce the true presbyterian system throughout the three kingdoms. They desired to have it restored as it had been in 1648, so that every one who refused to sign it should be severely punished; but neither the parliament nor the majority of the presbyterian body would listen to these demands. The clergy of the extreme party remained still in nominal connexion with the church, hoping to establish within it their own principles; but after an unavailing struggle of some years, they formed the first secession from the Church of Scotland, known by the name of Cameronians, and afterwards of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

The church, in the meantime, received two important concessions. The absolute right of lay patronages—that is, the right in particular individuals of appointing the ministers who were to hold ecclesiastical charges—had always been offensive to the presbyterian church. An act was passed in 1690 to carry out the abolition of the system, which it did by requiring the patrons to dispose of their privilege at a fixed value limited to 600 merks. The plan of sale was adopted, because it was remembered that however oppressive the exercise of patronage might be, it was generally held through descent or some other connexion with those who had originally founded the churches.

The other boon which they obtained was called the Purging of the Universities. Visitors were appointed who were authorized to remove those professors and other office-bearers who refused to conform with the new order of things. All were allowed, however, to continue in their offices who agreed to acknowledge the presbyterian as the established system without positively adopting it as their own. Hence several professors, especially in Aberdeen, who were episcopalians, retained their posts.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE KING AND THE CHURCH.—Notwithstanding all these concessions the king did not gain the confidence even of the moderate presbyterians, for he was not willing to give up the notion that he was himself the head of the church, and that though presbyterian in its form it was still subject to his authority. Much bad blood arose from the manner in which he called, adjourned, or dismissed assemblies at his pleasure. The first, which met in 1690, passed off without any explosion through the cautious management of the commissioner and the moderator. Two years later, however, he called another, and desired the members to make arrangements for receiving into fellowship such of the episcopal clergy as would agree to submit to the discipline of the presbyterian courts. To this the assembly would not consent; and it was dissolved without a time being fixed for its next meeting. But the moderator, standing up and appointing a day, began a dispute with the monarch, which might have led to disastrous results.

It was at first aggravated by new regulations as to oaths. It was suspected that the oath of allegiance was often taken by those who acknowledged King William as the actual king, but held King James to be the rightful one, and therefore the form was altered so as to acknowledge the reigning mon-



archs to be so not only in fact but by right. By an act "to secure the quiet and peace of the church," but which caused the very reverse of quietness and peace, all clergymen were obliged to take this oath or be deposed, and to render evasion impossible a time was fixed for their compliance. Though in general loyal subjects, the clergy objected to this as a civil qualification for sacred functions, and were determined to resist it at their general assembly, which was to meet in August 1693.

The king was generally advised in ecclesiastical matters by Robert Carstairs, principal of the university of Glasgow, a moderate and able man. On the present occasion other counsellors had recommended him to instruct the commissioner present at the assembly to enforce the oath. Carstairs was enabled to prevent the messenger who carried this despatch from departing, and had influence enough to send conciliatory proposals, which averted the coming contest. It is usually said, indeed, that he stopped the messenger on his own responsibility, and then begged his life from the king as one who had committed high-treason.

10. THE EPISCOPALIANS.—Notwithstanding all that had been done to change the ecclesiastical system, many episcopal clergy remained in the north. The assembly appointed committees of visitation to deal with them; but they met in committees or judicatories of their own, who put the emissaries of the general assembly at defiance, and these had, indeed, to complain that they were not safe from the attacks of the people in Aberdeen and other places, where the episcopalian system prevailed. They could obtain no information from witnesses when they made inquiry into the conduct of the clergy with a view to depose them; and those who had been deposed still continued to exercise their functions in defiance of the ecclesiastical authorities. At length, in the year 1695, the king prevailed on the church to agree to an act of comprehension calculated to let the episcopalian system die out in peace. It preserved in their charges all those clergymen who were inoffensive in their lives, and submitted to the new system though they did not belong to it. They were not to be permitted to ordain new clergymen, so that they could not perpetuate their order. Through this act and by other means, some episcopalian clergymen continued to hold livings in the north during several years of the eighteenth century.

PROJECTS AS TO THE HIGHLANDS.—In the midst of these

civil and ecclesiastical disputes, an event occurred which shocked the feelings of the community, and brought great discredit on the Revolution government. After the suppression of Claverhouse's insurrection, the pacification of the highlands became a very serious question, since at any time the chiefs, by the use of their despotic authority, might call out their followers and disturb or endanger the government. It was suggested that a little money would go far in securing the allegiance of the leaders, as their poverty was generally the cause of their turbulence. The Earl of Breadalbane, a cunning and ferocious highland chieftain, was employed to distribute among them a sum amounting, it is said, to about £20,000. The arrangement was made with him by Secretary Dalrymple, an unscrupulous but clever statesman, and the policy on which they were to proceed was that some were to be bought over, and that those who were obstinate or not to be relied on should be subjected to stringent severities.

There is no doubt that it was intended to make a sanguinary example among the highlanders. Dalrymple and his friends in the government adopted the usual method, which had been in practice in Scotland for centuries, of setting one clan to attack another; and it was thus that Breadalbane, a Campbell and an hereditary enemy of the northern clans, was desired to enter into the scheme.

When it was fully understood that Breadalbane had completed his arrangements, a proclamation was issued requiring all the chiefs to take the oath of allegiance in presence of a civil judge before the 1st of January 1692: those who failed to do so were to be subjected to the form of legal attack known by the formidable name of letters of fire and sword. It appears that the Jacobites were well aware of the severities awaiting them, for Secretary Dalrymple was rather disappointed to find that many of them came in before the last day, and thus escaped the wholesale slaughter which he expected to see carried out according to the old practice of treating the highlanders, who were looked on as wild beasts whom it was every man's duty to exterminate.

11. MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.—There was one small body of men who were scarcely to be called a clan, as they were only a branch of the Macdonalds, whose chief did not take the oath in time before the proper authority. They inhabited the secluded valleys of Glencoe, lying between ranges of high-peaked mountains, which make it one of the wildest and most strik-

ing scenes in Europe. The inhabitants of this savage district lived almost entirely by plunder, for their rugged glens would not have afforded food for more than a scanty population. The leader of this lawless race of freebooters, finding that the other highland chiefs had proffered their oaths of allegiance in the fear that some strong measures were to be taken against them, became alarmed in his turn, and made a desperate effort to go through the form. He went first to the governor of the new fortress at Fort William. Here he was told, however, that the oath must be taken before a civil magistrate, not a military commander, and he was sent to the sheriff of Argyllshire, whom he could only find at Inverary, at a distance of about eighty miles from Fort William. On his way he was interrupted by a snow-storm, which prevented the accomplishment of his journey until the fatal day was past. The sheriff, although a Campbell and hereditary enemy of the Macdonald, took his oath of allegiance, and did all he could to get it treated as if it had been within the time stipulated in the proclamation.

It was determined, however, that as the defaulters were so few in number a more certain vengeance should be taken on them, and preparation was made for the extermination of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. One of the Campbells—the laird of Glenlyon—was intrusted with the performance of this duty; and he was perhaps thought all the better fitted for it that he was connected by marriage with the Macdonalds, and could profess friendship and attachment to them while laying his plans. On the 1st of February he appeared at the entrance of Glencoe with a force of about 120 men, which he said he had been commissioned to take there for quarters, as the new barracks at Fort William were insufficient to accommodate them. The men were received with ready hospitality by the Macdonalds, and lived with them in social cordiality until the 13th of the month, the day on which it was arranged that the tragedy was to take place.

In the sudden attack the old chief with many of his relations were slain, but his two sons escaped. Thirty-eight persons in all were put to death in this treacherous onset, well known by the name of the Massacre of Glencoe. In earlier times the slaughter of so many highlanders would have been considered as rather a meritorious than a criminal act; but after the Revolution human life began to be respected, whether it were that of the Celt or of the Saxon, and a parliamentary inquiry was instituted into the massacre. By this it was shown

that the original intention was to exterminate the whole sept or clan, and that Dalrymple's plan had been but imperfectly carried out. One of the documents authorizing the extirpation of the Macdonalds of Glencoe was signed by the king. This has often been relied upon as showing that he was guilty of the massacre; but monarchs have to sign many papers of the precise purport of which they are often little aware, trusting that their ministers are acting righteously.

**TRADE JEALOUSIES OF ENGLAND.**—This affair, which was a matter of local Scottish politics, and was chiefly to be attributed to the revengeful feeling of the highland clans against each other, was followed by another of deep national interest—the Darien expedition.

This project, so unfortunate for Scotland, was made so by the trading jealousies between the two countries united under one crown, but not otherwise made one state. It has already been seen that an effort was made to unite the two countries, and that it was defeated by the English, who, in their commercial jealousy, would not allow the Scots to participate in their trading and colonial enterprise. One of King William's earliest acts was to suggest a union of the kingdoms, but the proposition was passed over. The people of Scotland, in the meantime, felt that their energies were damped, that their former outlets for ambition were closed by the connexion with England, and that no new sphere was opened to them. France, an affluent and luxurious country, had given ready employment to her hardy and courageous sons. A considerable commerce, too, had been carried on with the French; and we may yet see along the coast of Fife a few ruined villages, which represent the maritime towns of the sixteenth century. Trade revived under Cromwell, because there was a real union of the kingdoms, and Scotland enjoyed the same privileges as England, but since the severance at the Restoration it had again decayed. A strong feeling of discontent was thus experienced against England, and a desire arose to devote the energies of Scotland to the support of rival projects, which might make the country independent of its hostile rival, if they did not even found its national greatness on the ruins of the sister kingdom.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Describe what occurred at Holyrood. How did the covenanters of the west act? What was done with the Scottish army?

2. How did the method of declaring the vacancy of the throne in Scotland differ from that of England? What were the charges on which the forfeiture was grounded? What arrangement was made with King William and Queen Mary?

3. Give an account of two bodies animated by hostility to each other. How did Claverhouse act in the convention? What were his subsequent proceedings?

4. Who was Mackay? Give an account of his progress and Claverhouse's?

5. What was Mackay's object in passing Dunkeld? Describe the ground on which the battle of Killiecrankie was fought? Give an account of it. What were its consequences?

6. What occurred at Dunkeld? What occurred at the Haughs of Cromdale? Give an account of the siege of the Bass.

7. What constitutional changes occurred? What powers were claimed? Give an account of Montgomery's plot.

8. What was the most difficult question for settlement? What did the king desire? What proclamation was issued? What parliamentary proceedings took place as to ecclesiastical matters?

9. How did these proceedings displease the Cameronians? What was done as to patronage? What was done as to the universities? Give an account of the disputes between the king and the church.

10. How did the episcopalians act? What measure of comprehension was passed? What projects were entertained as to the highlanders?

11. How did Macdonald of Glencoe fall into the power of his enemies? Describe what followed. How did jealousies arise towards England?

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DARIEN COMPANY TO THE UNION, A.D. 1695—1707.

Establishment of the Darien Company—William Paterson—The Darien Expedition—Disasters—Abandonment of the Colony—National Irritation—Death of King William—Accession of Queen Anne—The last Scottish Parliament—The Patriot Party—Act of Security—The Queensberry Plot—Seizure of the Annandale and Worcester—Execution of Green—Preliminaries of a Union—Adjustment of Terms—Discussions in Parliament—The Jacobites and Cameronians—The Acts of Security—Parliamentary Conflict—Charges of Bribery.

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DARIEN COMPANY.—Some patriotic Scotsmen, among whom were Fletcher of Saltoun, who had formed his opinions on old classic republicanism, now desired to create for Scotland a commerce and colonial system such as England enjoyed. For this object an act was passed in the Scottish parliament to establish "A Company trading to Africa and the Indies." The partners received very extensive privileges, which permitted them to form settlements in distant regions of the globe, and then make peace and war, building

fortresses, and employing armed vessels on the seas. These powers were conferred in imitation of the establishment of the English East India Company, which had been so eminently successful. It was known in its day as the Scottish Indian and African Company, but the memorable events connected with its settlement in America have given it in history the name of the Darien Company.

It was part of the plan of the projectors, that although their undertaking was to be purely national in its objects, it might be aided by English capital. It was arranged that a portion of the directors should reside in England, and subscription-books were opened there. The English merchants, who entertained a feeling of jealousy towards the East India and other companies, were only too ready to countenance a rival, without considering whence it came. But these, on the other hand, had influence enough to rouse the two houses of parliament to the protection of what were considered as the essential trading privileges of England. The scheme was denounced—all who connected themselves with it in England were threatened with the vengeance of parliament, and even the eminent Scottish statesmen who had patronized the project in their own country did not escape insult.

The English capitalists at once deserted the scheme, but it was only thus rendered the more emphatically a national undertaking in Scotland. The sum required to carry out the project was four hundred thousand pounds, and that amount was speedily subscribed, though it was never entirely paid up, since the resources of private persons at that time were insufficient to meet such a drain. The first instalment of five per cent. was, however, promptly provided, and the directors had a considerable capital to start with. In reality the amount paid up only reached about two hundred and twenty thousand pounds. It will give an idea of the progress of wealth in Scotland to mention that the money authorized by parliament to be raised for Scottish railways in 1846 was about seventeen millions of pounds. Small as the former amount comparatively was, however, it was with extreme difficulty, and often through severe sacrifices and privations, that so much money was then contributed in Scotland. In many instances, a cluster of people with very small means clubbed together what they had, so as to make a round sum of £50, or £100, to be embarked in the great national enterprise. All classes, from the Duke of Hamilton, who was the highest Scottish nobleman, down to

humble domestics, were anxious to throw their fortunes into the great project, and those who could not afford in some measure to be connected with it, deemed themselves signally unfortunate.

2. WILLIAM PATERSON.—In their projects the company were greatly influenced by a clever speculator named William Paterson, who had much experience of the countries on the American coast near the Spanish possessions, then frequented by desperate bands of pirates and buccaneers. He had high and liberal views on trade, inculcating the principle, that the way to become rich and prosperous was not by the enforcement of invidious restraints in the vain hope of securing a monopoly, but by throwing open the commerce of the nation to competition, and thriving by the amount of trade thus passing through it. He directed the energies of the people in the first instance to production at home, and a great many articles were manufactured in Scotland, for which the company hoped by their enterprise abroad to find a market. During this part of the affair everything appeared to go on favourably, for the shareholders were in reality spending back among the producers the money they had raised. A number of managers, clerks, and other officers were taken into the pay of the company, and as they enjoyed large salaries, they concluded that the nation must be prosperous. The wildest ideas were formed as to the extent to which the energies of the country might thus be directed into an advantageous channel. In the colonies and plantations which might be founded abroad, it was expected that governors, secretaries, and military and naval commanders would be required; and that while the common people found employment in humbler departments, these situations would fall to the lot of the aristocracy and gentry. It was a time, indeed, when trade and enterprise had received an immense impulse throughout Europe. No one can, in human matters, absolutely predict what is to take place; yet the great Scottish project was by no means so wild and chimerical as it may appear to those who have become acquainted with it only through its failure. The national energies were prepared for the occupation of such a field, and in fact they did afterwards occupy it, though they were directed towards it in a different manner. Such an opening as Paterson desired was afterwards made for Scotland by the Union with England. The immense fortunes and the frequent celebrity achieved by *Scotsmen* in the British eastern empire are of the same species

of success as that which the patriots of that age desired. Even to the most sagacious, it appeared that the projects of Paterson were well directed to the immediate security of the object, and they venerated him prospectively as a benefactor of his fellow-countrymen. Like another Scotsman, his contemporary, the projector Law, his influence in the hour of prosperity was immense, and his unpopularity in adversity was just as excessive; and after having been the idol of his countrymen, he sank into so deep an obscurity that it is not known when or where he died.

3. THE DARIEN EXPEDITION.—After long examination of the capabilities of the distant lands with which he had become acquainted, for the site of a Scottish colony, Paterson fixed upon the Isthmus of Darien, that neck of land, appearing on the map to be so narrow, which unites the two continents of North and South America. He considered that this spot was made by nature to be the key of the commerce of the world, for here the traders from India and the East would meet those from Western Europe, and establish a great mart for the interchange of commodities. A small fleet was fitted out to sail thither for the purpose of establishing a colony. It quitted Leith <sup>26th July</sup> <sub>1698.</sub> } on a bright summer day amidst the rejoicings of a vast multitude of spectators, and arrived in the Gulf of Darien on 4th November. There the adventurers took possession of a considerable territory, and founded a city or port to be called New Caledonia. At first all seemed to go well, but in a short time they found that they had carried out commodities which there was no one to buy. A sickly season, for which they were quite unprepared, thinned their numbers, and quarrels broke out among them from the want of any settled regulations by which they were to be governed.

DISASTERS.—But they had to encounter dangers still more formidable. The Spaniards claimed possession of the territory by virtue of a treaty with England. Their neighbouring towns had been frequently invaded by bands of the wild buccaneers who swarmed in those seas, and they naturally set down the Scots colony as merely a new band of these desperadoes, professing as they always did to be acting under some high authority. This suspicion was confirmed by the conduct of the English governors of Jamaica and some other neighbouring colonies. They were instructed from the home government to refuse all countenance to the Scottish adventurers, as they were interfering with the monopoly of the East



India Company and other English trading interests. They even carried their enmity so far as to refuse any succour to the Scots in their utmost distress; and when the Spaniards saw how they were treated by the servants of their own government, they could only presume them to be pirates and deal with them accordingly. The poor colonists, dropping off one by one, looked in vain for reinforcements and provisions, which should have been sent from Scotland, but were delayed. At length the few disheartened survivors deserted the spot and put to sea, to take their chance of whatever port the winds might direct them to.

When a reinforcing colony arrived at Darien, nothing was found but the ruins of the fort and huts and a great many graves. Still matters were no better managed by the new comers or those who afterwards joined them. There were many internal disputes and acrimonious discussions. Among other causes which contributed to these conflicts, theological differences were not wanting. Many of the people who had joined both the expeditions were rude sailors, who had been buccaneers in the Spanish Main, and were capable of committing any atrocity. Others of better education and principles, when at a distance from home-influence, were too apt to yield to the corrupting precept and example of such companions. To counteract this, it was very properly arranged that spiritual assistance should be sent to the colony. But the persons selected to be their clergymen were not judiciously chosen. They were stern Cameronians, who would not tolerate the slightest departure from the strict path laid down by themselves, and the consequence was, that they had a deadly quarrel with their flocks, whom it would have been difficult to subject even to milder restraint. Driven desperate by their misfortunes, and under no control spiritual or temporal, the evil passions of the colonists broke out in several shapes, and they perpetrated at length some acts which might have justified the charges of piracy made against them.

ABANDONMENT OF THE COLONY.—The last expedition was accompanied by a gallant officer, Campbell of Fonab, who was authorized to take the military command of the colony. The Spaniards, who maintained that Darien was a part of their South American territories, were concentrating their troops, and preparing to march on the colonists with an overwhelming army. Campbell, with the small force at his command, only amounting to 200, resolved to attack the Spaniards on their

own ground. Accordingly, crossing over the isthmus and encountering great hardship and fatigue, they fell upon and defeated a considerable Spanish detachment posted at Tubacanti. This was, however, but an expiring gleam of success. The forces by which they were surrounded were so numerous that resistance would have been insanity. A formal capitulation was at last signed, and the first and last colony of Scotland was abandoned. Some ships sent out to reinforce it found the Spanish colours on the fort.

18th March }  
1700. }

4. NATIONAL IRRITATION. — The successive steps in this lamentable history produced much excitement and irritation in Scotland. The Darien Company itself, before the nation and the parliament had taken cognizance of the matter, resolved to address the king. They committed their appeal to Lord Basil Hamilton, a popular young nobleman, who was refused admittance to the royal presence for the purpose of presenting it. It is known, however, that he managed to obtain access and present the document. It is reported that he watched the king's exit from the saloon of audience and thrust it into his hand. William is said to have remarked, "that young man is too bold"—but still entertaining a feeling of admiration towards him, he continued, "if a man *can* be too bold in the cause of his country."

The excitement continued to spread, and it was roused to the highest pitch by the news of the engagement of Tubacanti. A medal was struck on the occasion, and the mob of Edinburgh determined that there should be an illumination. There was much rioting and breaking of windows, and any statesmen who were under a suspicion of discountenancing the national party were afraid of personal violence. Two men, charged with a libel on the government in reference to the matter of Darien, were confined in the Tolbooth. A cry was raised to attack the building, and the mob making a bonfire at the door, forced an entrance and released them. It was observed that the Scottish ministry were not very eager in pursuing the authors of this outrage, and the national feeling was spreading even among judges and statesmen. Meetings were held, parliamentary votes passed, and addresses sent to the king, all calling on him to vindicate the national honour, and redress the evils he had occasioned by allowing it to be sacrificed to English interests. No satisfactory answer could be obtained from him. He had allowed himself to utter at the commencement of the English opposition the remark,

that he "had been ill served in Scotland." This was held to intimate a disposition to sacrifice Scotland to English interests, and it appeared to be impossible for some time to get him to reassure the Scots that he respected their independence. He was in fact not only pressed by the jealous English merchants, but he had also some very delicate negotiations on hand for adjusting the balance of power, in which it was essential that he should avoid a needless rupture with Spain; and he would not risk a European war for the interests of the Scottish nation.

**DEATH OF KING WILLIAM.**—At length, just before his death, he expressed his feelings, which were those of genuine interest in the sufferings and losses of the Scots, and he urged it as his opinion, that a legislative union of the two kingdoms was the only means of preventing the recurrence of animosities arising from trading jealousy and competition. He would no doubt have earnestly carried out this project. A bill was brought into the house of lords, and passed there by the king's recommendation; but when it reached the house of commons, it was lost on some question of etiquette between the two houses—in reality because the commons were not earnest in its favour. The king, much mortified, was still determined to pursue the project; but when he sent a message to parliament recommending its resumption, he was severely suffering from the consequences of a fall from his horse, 8th March 1702. } which in a short time ended fatally.

**5. ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE.**—Queen Mary had died some years before her husband. In the accession of her sister Anne to the throne, the hopes of the Scots were renewed. She was thoroughly protestant, yet she was the direct descendant of their own old line of kings, and would not be expected, like the ambitious Dutchman, to sacrifice them for his European policy. The project of a union was now seriously recommenced. Commissioners were appointed, on the part of each of the two countries, to meet together and adjust its terms in the year 1703. They held several meetings; but the demand made on the part of the Scots for a full freedom of trade with England and a participation in the shipping and colonial interests of their neighbours—making the whole island one nation in matters of commerce—was ill received by the English commissioners, and the Scots becoming deeply offended, the project was abandoned.

**THE LAST SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.**—The election of a new

parliament now permitted the popular voice to be more influential in the estates. The same convention parliament which had carried the Revolution settlement sat to the end of King William's reign, for the practice of limiting the duration of parliament to a fixed period had not yet been adopted in Scotland. It was provided, however, that it should cease soon after the death of the crown, and a new house assembled on the 6th of May 1703. Though few anticipated that this was to be the last Scottish parliament, it was easy to see that portentous events to the nation were to be connected with it. The feudal array which attended the assembling of the new members possessed on this occasion more than the usual interest; and as it took place for the last time, it may be well to give a short account of it.

The long and picturesque street leading from the Parliament House to Holyrood Palace was the scene of the procession. On the day of "the riding of the parliament," as it was called, it was fenced in on both sides by barriers which were lined with troops. The lord high constable was invested with the function of protecting the members outside the walls of the house; and in his robes of state, and with a brilliant train, he sat at a place called the Lady Stairs to receive the members as they arrived. They came in procession from Holyrood-house, all mounted on horses. The heralds calling each name from the palace window, they formed into the procession according to their order. The representatives of the municipal corporations, as the humblest in rank, went first. Next to them came the barons or county members, who were each attended by two lackeys, the burgesses having but one. These had plain mantles sparingly ornamented; but the nobles followed in robes richly decorated, attended by train-bearers. The crown, the sceptre, and the sword, called the honours, were borne along with great pomp, the lord lyon in his robe riding before them.

When the procession had entered the hall, they ranged themselves according to rank, the lord chancellor acting as chairman or speaker, and the nobles having benches raised above the others at the upper end. It must be remembered that the Scottish parliament, different from that of the sister country, was still but one house. Its privileges and powers were not nearly so well adjusted as those of the English parliament, and it was a disputed question whether a measure was carried by a simple majority of all the members, or whether it was

necessary that there should be a majority for it in each estate, —the nobles, the barons, and the burgesses. In the bitter disputes and divisions which arose at this period the former plan was adopted.

6. THE PATRIOT PARTY.—In this parliament a body, chiefly consisting of young men, who were called the Patriot Party, made themselves conspicuous. Headed by Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, they spoke the spirit of old classical republicanism, and called on their countrymen to throw off the oppressive yoke which England, by being the more powerful nation, and having possession of the person of the sovereign, had laid on Scotland. For bringing matters to a crisis, and either obtaining justice from England or creating a war, they adopted a bold and ingenious device. The last of several children of Queen Anne having died, she was left childless, and it was necessary to make arrangements for the succession to the crown on her death. In the Act of Settlement, the English parliament passed over as disqualified, not only the descendants of King James, but those of his sister, the daughter of Charles I., who became Duchess of Orleans, and whose children were deemed ineligible from being Roman-catholics and connected with the despotic courts of the Continent. They had to go back to King James the First of England, whose daughter married the Prince Palatine, and the succession was fixed on her descendants, then represented by the aged Princess Sophia, the mother of the Elector of Hanover. The princess herself died before Queen Anne, but her son became George I.

ACT OF SECURITY.—The Scottish parliament had not been consulted about this disposal of the crown, and as England had no reason to believe that they would adopt it, merely because it seemed good to the English parliament, the opportunity was considered favourable for an assertion of Scottish independence. A measure was brought in, called "The Act of Security," the object of which was to provide, that whoever became monarch of England should be disqualified from sitting on the throne of Scotland, until the grievances of the nation were redressed. Preparations were at the same time made for levying an army, and if need be invading England. Some other measures of a similar tenor were introduced, and the session of 1703 was a period of extreme excitement and formidable menaces against England. The queen, acting as was said under the influence of English counsels, resolved to withhold her assent from this measure. The method of assenting

to an act of parliament in Scotland was to touch it with the sceptre, and this form the commissioner refused to go through with the Act of Security.

This only deepened the already formidable excitement. It was maintained by Fletcher and others, that the crown had not the power of refusing assent in Scotland to a measure passed by the Estates—that the touching with the sceptre was a mere ceremony, and that the act might be valid without it. Next year the act was again carried amidst much excitement, and as it was not deemed prudent any longer to withhold the touch of the sceptre, it was passed without question. By this measure, whenever Queen Anne died, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland would again be under different monarchs, and as far apart as they had ever been, unless some remedy should be found in the meantime.

7. THE QUEENSBERRY PLOT.—Other matters concurred to hurry on the crisis. Early in 1703, an indemnity had been granted to those who, having been disaffected, should take the oaths to the government and engage to live peaceably. A large number of persons passed from France to Scotland avowedly to take advantage of this amnesty. It was maintained, however, that their real object must have been to create an insurrection, for they consisted of men notoriously attached to the exiled house; such as Fraser of Lovat, Sir John Maclean, and others. It was stated that a considerable amount of gold had been removed from Holland to be employed in Scotland, and that, in fact, under the pretence of a grand hunting-match, there was to be a general gathering of the Jacobite clans. The house of lords took up the question in a manner very offensive to Scotland, entering on examinations and inquiries, which it was said should properly have been undertaken by the Scottish authorities. But the question was prevented from becoming national by a dispute between the two English houses of parliament, the commons maintaining that the lords in making such an investigation had exceeded their powers.

Whatever may have been the intention of Lovat and his friends, they now found that it would be dangerous to carry them out. He resolved, however, in the meantime to conduct a small plot on his own account. He was aware that a bitter rivalry existed between Queensberry the commissioner, and Lord Atholl the keeper of the privy-seal. Lovat had at the same time a family feud with Atholl, on account of heinous crimes which he had perpetrated against a lady of that house,

for which he knew that Atholl would endeavour to have him punished. Obtaining an interview with Queensberry, to whom he professed to reveal the whole plot, he accused Atholl of being its main instigator, and by changing the address of a letter, made him appear a correspondent of the exiled family. Queensberry sent secret information to court of the discovery he had made against his brother-minister. In the meantime, however, Lovat, having got a pass from France, was in search of a passage thither, when he fell in with Fergusson the plotter. This experienced schemer contrived to worm out of him an account of the trick he had thus played, and immediately warned Atholl of the machinations against him. Atholl, indignant at being thus treated by a fellow-minister, remonstrated loudly, and Queensberry in disgrace was obliged to abandon office. The incident was named after him the Queensberry Plot.

8. SEIZURE OF THE ANNANDALE AND WORCESTER.—Another event tended still more seriously to embroil the two countries. A ship called the Annandale, belonging to the Darien Company, which, though nearly ruined, still owned one or two vessels, had put into an English port; there she was seized for having contravened the privileges of the English East India Company, just as if she had been an English vessel. Some reasons were alleged about the nature of her crew, and other incidental matters, which were said to bring her fairly within the English laws. But if there was any justice in these, they had little opportunity of being coolly considered. Appearances were certainly against the English authorities, and it seemed to the enraged Scots that their country was treated as a mere dependency of England, bound by its laws, and hampered by the peculiar privileges bestowed by them on trading companies.

It chanced that while the nation was thus excited, an English vessel, called the Worcester, was driven by stress of weather into the Frith of Forth. It was said that this vessel belonged to the same East India Company which had seized on the Annandale; and though this was not the fact, since it belonged to another and a rival body, yet people were too much excited to perceive the difference, and it was maintained that Providence had sent the ship to Scotland to be the instrument of punishment against her imperious owners.

There was an urgent demand that the Scottish government should seize the Worcester by way of reprisal for the loss of the Annandale. The government, though sharing in some

measure in the national excitement, hesitated to commit an act which was little less than an open declaration of war against England. Mr Roderick M'Kenzie, the secretary of the Darien Company, resolved, with a few enterprising spirits among the young men of Edinburgh, to attempt the capture on his own responsibility. Forming a force of about a dozen altogether, they made their appearance in two divisions one fine evening, when they were received on board the Worcester as strangers led to it by curiosity, and were permitted to make punch and regale themselves on deck like young gentlemen on a pleasure party. Suddenly they fell upon the crew, about double their own number, and having driven the greater portion of them out of the vessel, secured the remainder under hatches. In a quiet harbour in England or Scotland, such a sudden attack would be quite unsuspected, and there would naturally be no effective resistance offered to it. Hence it was effected without bloodshed.

EXECUTION OF GREEN.—No sooner was this seizure accomplished than it was said that one or two of the crew of the Worcester, in their drinking bouts with the people of Fifeshire, had dropped mysterious and fearful hints about acts of violence committed in the Spanish Main. Further revelations were made by the men in the despondency of captivity, assuming a more distinct tone. Now, it happened that a year or two earlier, one of the vessels sent to Darien, called the Speedy Return, which had never since been heard of, was believed to have been taken by pirates, and it was inferred from the description given by the crew of the Worcester that this was the very ship that had fallen a victim to them. Here it seemed that more and more distinctly the finger of Providence was visible in the ship's being sent into the Frith of Forth.

So firmly had the whole story taken root in the public mind, that the authorities at last considered it necessary to act. An inquiry was therefore instituted, and the consequence of it was, that Captain Green, the master of the Worcester, and a part of his crew, were put on trial for piracy and murder 5th March } before the High Court of Admiralty. The chief  
1706. } evidence against them was that of two negroes, who, it is much to be feared, thought that they would propitiate the favour of the Scottish government by bringing about the condemnation of the accused. Altogether, however, the evidence was of a very vague kind. It appeared that violent acts had been committed, but on what persons was not clear,



and the first essential element for a conviction was wanting, —it was never distinctly proved that the *Speedy Return* had been taken by pirates at all. There was afterwards reason, indeed, to believe that she had been stranded on the coast of Madagascar, and that the commander Drummond, for whose murder Green and his crew were tried, was at that time alive, though detained among the savages.

To the exasperated Scottish people, however, the evidence was perfectly conclusive. Even the bench and the officers of justice were blinded by the general excitement. The prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. The most strenuous representations were made from England about the cruelty and injustice of their fate, and the queen herself interceded for delay and inquiry. Some evidence was collected and sent down to Scotland tending to show that Drummond and his crew were still alive; and though it was not of a conclusive nature, yet it would have been sufficient to make impartial authorities delay the execution. Some of the official men began to feel that they had rushed too hastily to a conclusion, but found that they could not now retreat. Mobs met around the privy-council as it held its meetings, ready to sacrifice life if they were disappointed of their English victims. The few who doubted were too timid to act. Green and two of his crew were eventually executed on the sands of Leith, 11th April } amidst a ferocious mob exulting in the deed as a de-  
1706. } fiance flung in the face of England. The good President Forbes, who was then a young man, afterwards said in the English house of commons, on an occasion when he thought Scotland was attacked, "I was so struck with the horror of the fact that I put myself in deep mourning, and with the danger of my life attended the innocent but unfortunate men to the scaffold, where they died with the most affecting protestations of their innocence. I did not stop here, for I carried the head of Captain Green to the grave; and in a few months after, letters came from the captain for whose murder, and from the very ship for whose capture, the unfortunate persons suffered, informing their friends that they were all safe." Such are the direful effects of national injustice. The Scots, injured by the English, became blinded to all claims of equity and humanity in their retaliation, and committed an act which none of their rightly-feeling countrymen can, in a moment of calmness, contemplate without shame.

9. PRELIMINARIES OF A UNION.—It was now quite clear to

all moderate and thinking men that the only way to prevent discord and bloodshed was, if possible, to unite England and Scotland together as one nation, possessed of common feelings and interests, and having everything so much in unison, that whatever injured the one should be felt by the other. The first advance came from England, by the passing of an act to appoint commissioners to treat of a union. This was followed by a similar act for Scotland. It was clogged, however, with a condition that an act which, in retaliation for the Scottish Act of Security, made Scotsmen aliens in England, should be repealed before the commissioners were appointed to treat. The act was immediately and frankly withdrawn, and thus was established a feeling of cordiality, to which the two nations had been for a long time strangers.

The nomination of the commissioners was expected to create a difficulty. The patriot party desired to have the appointment by themselves in parliament,—not by the queen. The Duke of Hamilton, their leader, however, whom they expected to stand up for this principle, suddenly moved that the appointment should be in her majesty. On the 27th of February 1706, a commission was issued to thirty-one persons to treat on the part of Scotland for a union of the kingdoms, and a similar commission for England was issued a few days afterwards.

ADJUSTMENT OF TERMS.—On the 16th of April, the commissioners met together in London, and commenced their important labours. The first great question was as to the nature of the union,—should it be incorporative or federal. The question, in other words, was, should each nation sink its individuality, and, by a complete fusion together, make a new nation, or should they continue together as England and Scotland, each with its separate legislature, but with certain stipulations for common citizenship, reciprocity of trade, and other mutual advantages?

There is no doubt that the union, by being of the incorporating kind, has been productive of blessings which it could not otherwise have occasioned. In Scotland, however, there was a strong popular bias against an incorporation. The people were proud, imaginative, and fond of the traditional glory of their own nationality. They feared that, being the smaller nation, they would always be obliged to bend to the larger, and that, instead of both giving up their nationality and becoming the elements of a totally new state, they alone would have to submit to that condition, while England would remain

as she was, and merely absorb Scotland as a new province; and it cannot be denied that some concessions in this direction had to be made, as the price at which the manifold advantages of the union were to be obtained.

The English commissioners had made up their mind that as their country was to make considerable sacrifices, the union should be made at once an incorporating one, as the best security for the lasting tranquillity and prosperity of the two nations. The Scottish commissioners appeared to have been conscious of the same truth; but, to save their popularity among their countrymen, they made at least an appearance of suspending this question before they acceded, as they at last did, to proceed on the basis of an incorporating union.

In the trading and pecuniary matters, the English showed a disposition to be liberal. The point for which the Scots had so long struggled—a free trade with England, and a participation in her commercial and colonial privileges—was at once conceded. It was agreed that, generally speaking, both countries should be subject to the same taxes. The principle of free trade rendered this absolutely necessary in the case of customs duties, since, if commodities were landed in Scotland at a low duty, and passed free of duty into England, the English commerce would be transferred to Scotland, and the revenue from additional duty in England would be lost. The equalization, however, was not so necessary in internal taxes, such as the excise; and to this day there is a considerable difference in the excise duties on spirits in the two countries.

In thus raising the Scottish standard of taxation to a level with that of England, it was remembered that England had incurred above seventeen millions of debt, to the interest of which Scotland would have to contribute. Though it might have been said that the money was expended in wars in which Scotland had as much interest as England, yet it was deemed fair that an allowance should be made for this burden. As the loans expired at certain intervals of time, a calculation was made of the proportion which Scotland, with a view of her past revenue, would have to pay to the extinction of these loans. The amount was estimated at £398,085, 10s., and this sum, named the Equivalent, England agreed to hand over to Scotland. The greater portion of it was applied in refunding the losses sustained by the Darien Company. The Scots obtained other advantages in the postponement of some of the new taxes to be imposed on them. It was agreed at the

same time, that the land-tax of Scotland should be but forty-eight thousand pounds, when that of England reached two millions,—an inequality evidently intended to conciliate the Scottish landed gentry.

It was of course a difficult matter to adjust the number of representatives of the two countries. If Scotland had been represented according to the rate of her land-tax, which was to be but a fortieth of that of England, she could have claimed but thirteen members in the House of Commons. The number was, however, adjusted in a mixed proportion between population and taxation. The English at first suggested thirty-eight members,—the Scottish commissioners demanding fifty. By a compromise, the number was at last fixed at forty-five. The Scottish peerage was much more numerous, in proportion either to the wealth or population of the country, than that of England; and as they could not all be admitted to the house of lords, and it might have been invidious to select a certain number for that honour, it was arranged that the Scottish peers were to elect sixteen representatives. The others were, however, to be admitted to all the secondary privileges of the English peerage. Among these the freedom from arrestment for debt was deemed of great moment, for the Scottish peers had only enjoyed it in their own country during the sitting of parliament, and now it was to be uninterrupted.

Besides these, there were other very important matters for adjustment. The parliament was not the only institution which required to be imperial. A genuine union of the two kingdoms, by which the citizens of each should change their character, and become the citizens of a new state, made out of a fusion of both together, required that in great political transactions there should be no division of action. In the disputes preceding the union, many people spoke of a separate peace between Scotland and France or some other country, and there was still a considerable body in Scotland who would take the first opportunity for such separate political action. It was well to have one administration for the two kingdoms, though there might be some offices in it peculiarly for the service of Scotland: this was not fully carried out until the Scottish privy-council was abolished a year or two after the union. In transactions with foreign nations there were now to be no longer separate countries called England and Scotland; so that the embassies and other diplomatic operations were henceforth to be conducted by one set of representatives. In the same man-

ner there was to be but one army and navy, and, for the convenience of commerce, a uniform system of money.

There were other important matters, however, which might be left as they were. Scotland need not abandon her own laws, which were exercised among her own people, and did not affect Englishmen unless when they came to reside in the country, and they then could not complain of being subjected to them. Moreover, while the disposal of the army and navy and the adjustment of representation were things easily arranged, the alteration of laws which affected every man's position and actions throughout the country would have been both difficult and oppressive. It was stipulated, therefore, that Scotland was to keep her own courts, which were to administer her own old laws. She was to retain in the same manner her ecclesiastical establishment, the privileges and customs of the burghs and other incorporations, and the rights and revenues of the universities.

10. DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT.—On the 23d of July, the two sets of commissioners adjusted the articles of this solemn and momentous treaty, and it may safely be said, that never before in the history of the world was the fusion of two nations together thus made a matter of deliberate and careful bargain. The treaty was still, however, subject to the delicate ordeal of passing through the parliaments of the two nations. That of Scotland met on the 3d of October to hold its last session. It was stormy and exciting. A considerable portion of the community revolted at the idea of an incorporating union, and thought it too high a price to pay for free trade and a participation in other English privileges. This feeling was shared, more or less, both by high and low. Its chief representatives in parliament were Fletcher of Saltoun, and Hamilton, lord Belhaven, who made a renowned speech, in which he drew a vivid picture of Scotland losing all the elements of nationality and becoming a mere province of England, where her dignified peerage and ancient gentry would have to do homage to the supercilious aristocracy of the south, and her time-honoured laws and customs would be despised and ridiculed in Westminster Hall.

THE JACOBITES AND CAMERONIANS.—There was another party, consisting chiefly of the gentry, who had a strong interest of a different kind against an incorporating union, and wished to foster and spread the popular opposition to it. These were the Jacobites, who thought they had a considerable

chance of getting the Stuarts restored by a parliament purely Scottish, but felt that the probability was much less in an English parliament, or in one where the English feeling predominated. They were led by George Lockhart of Carnwath, a busy, intriguing, and energetic man, who was made one of the commissioners of the union, and owned that he took that office for the purpose of endeavouring to defeat it. He and his friends were in correspondence with the Jacobites abroad, and it was of immense importance to them to interrupt the progress of the measure if they could not defeat it, for they were in daily expectation of a French landing to support the exiled cause. The French, however, then hard pressed by the victories of Marlborough, were unable to spare troops for a Jacobite diversion in Scotland. Nor were the Jacobites much more successful with the country at large, which they endeavoured to stir up by every means that would be likely to excite the different parties. They appealed to the ultra-presbyterian views of the Cameronians, reminding them that the union, by stipulating for the continuance of the Church of England, countenanced that prelacy which they were bound by the covenant to extirpate. An intriguer, named Ker of Kersland, connected with a family on whom the covenanters were accustomed to rely, was employed by the government to watch their proceedings. They went the length on one occasion of sending an armed party into the town of Dumfries, who burned the articles of the union in a bonfire, and placarded a proclamation against them in the streets.

There was a design that the Cameronians should assemble an army at Sanquhar on the Nith, while the Earl of Atholl gathered a body of highlanders at Blairatholl, and that these two bodies, each of which entertained a cordial hatred against the other, should meet and march to Edinburgh to disperse the parliament. The army, thus formed of heterogeneous materials, was to be commanded by Cunningham of Ecket, a military leader who was ill-pleased because his regiment had been disbanded. But if there had been any serious prospect of a coalition between the Cameronians and the highlanders, every movement towards its accomplishment was communicated to the government and counteracted.

THE ACTS OF SECURITY.—The presbyterian party, both extreme and moderate, had a natural suspicion, when they found the Jacobites—consisting mainly of Roman-catholics and episcopalians—trying to persuade them that the cause of pres-

byterianism was in danger, and urging them to protect it by defeating the union. It was natural, however, that the friends of the Scottish Established Church, and especially the clergy, should feel some apprehension lest in a united parliament they should be overwhelmed by the power of the Church of England, represented by its bishops in the house of lords. Accordingly, at their desire, a measure was brought in, called the "Act of Security," which, it was stipulated, must form part of any act adopting the union, whether passed by the English or the Scottish parliament. It required that the sovereign, on his accession and before his coronation, should take an oath that he would protect "the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges" of the Church of Scotland, and provided for the permanence of the Scottish universities. A similar act was passed by the English parliament for the security of the Church of England, and was adopted by the parliament of Scotland. There was some difficulty in adjusting this delicate arrangement, for it rendered necessary that the bishops and lay churchmen of England should acknowledge the inviolability of presbyterianism in Scotland, and at the same time the Scottish presbyterians would have to make a like concession to the Church of England. But by discretion and good temper on both sides this difficulty was got over; and it was remarked that the Jacobites, who were all episcopalian or Romish in their sentiments, were the most eager in endeavouring to alarm the presbyterians, calling on them not to submit to the acknowledgment of episcopacy.

11. PARLIAMENTARY CONFLICT.—Meanwhile the question, how far the members of the Scottish parliament were disposed towards the union, was one of very serious moment; and between the hostility of Fletcher and his friends, and the still more eager exertions of the Jacobites, it was at one time feared that the measure would be lost. Much depended on the position taken by an independent party, called the *Squadron Volante*, or flying squadron. As their friends had been recently dismissed from office, it was thought that they would naturally oppose the government. A sense, however, of the serious responsibility incurred by defeating such a measure as the union appears to have influenced them, and they voted for it. The first important division showed 116 in favour of the measure to 83 against it. From that moment the parliamentary triumph of the union party was secure. The only hope of the opponents rested on the projects which have been already

mentioned, or in a popular outbreak. After one of the debates a riot occurred in the streets of Edinburgh. The Jacobites endeavoured to show that it was an insurrection; but no blood was spilt, and it does not seem that there was much danger to life. Some of the less popular members of parliament were chased into closes, and an endeavour was made to break the windows of the lord-provost; but, being on a high "land" or flat, they were beyond the reach of the stones thrown at them. A similar riot occurred in Glasgow. Neither of them had any effect in impeding the measure; but it was deemed necessary that the members of the legislature should be protected in their duty, and the riot was thus made an excuse for introducing troops into the town, who overawed the disaffected, and prevented them from concerting risings. As the parliament approached the conclusion of its deliberations, the Jacobites in despair resolved to make one final effort by solemnly protesting against the power of the Estates to abolish the nation which they represented, and merge Scotland in another state. On their protest being presented they were solemnly to secede in a body, and form a gathering point for a new national parliament. The Duke of Hamilton, however, who was expected to head this project, failed to attend, alleging that he was suffering from an attack of toothache. So frivolous an excuse was equivalent to a desertion, and the opposition was abandoned. On the 12th of October 1706, the "act ratifying and approving the treaty of union," passed the Estates by 110 to 69. It was subjected to some slight alterations in favour of Scotland, and it had still to be considered by the English parliament. Had it been altered there also, the measure must have been seriously delayed, as it would have been necessary to submit the alterations to the Scottish parliament. But England paid Scotland the compliment of adopting her amendments without proposing any of her own; and, having quickly passed through both houses, the measure received the royal assent with great solemnity on the 6th of March 1707.

**CHARGES OF BRIBERY.**—A serious charge was subsequently brought against several of the Scottish statesmen of the day, to the effect that they had been bribed to support the treaty of union, and had thus sold their country. It is remarkable that many of those who were the most eager supporters of what they called the honour of Scotland, were also the most ready to believe in statements which charged her nobility, gentry, and statesmen as a body with the most abject baseness. There



were no doubt apparent grounds for the charge, which were, however, too readily accepted without proof. When the tory ministry came into power in 1710, they endeavoured to criminate their predecessors. A committee was appointed to make a financial investigation, who reported that a sum of about £20,000 had been sent from England and distributed in Scotland. It consisted of various amounts, from more than £1000 paid to Marchmont the chancellor, down to £11, 2s. paid to Lord Banff,—the price at which he was said to have sold his country. The commission of inquiry could find nothing more, except that the sum was lent to the treasury of Scotland to pay some arrears of salary and other debts due there; and the circumstances of the case all tend to confirm this view of the matter. Perhaps the creditors of the government felt more content when their claims were paid, and the arrangement was so far prudent; but there is a great difference between the payment of a just debt and the administration of a bribe.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What was the nature of the Darien Company? What was its ordinary name when it was formed? How was it treated in England? Give an account of the subscription in Scotland, and its extent.
2. Who was William Paterson? What anticipations were formed? How were they shown not to be so extravagant as they have been thought?
3. Give an account of the commencement of the Darien expedition. Mention the disasters it encountered and the conduct of the English government. What disputes characterized the second expedition? Give an account of the last events in the colony.
4. What was the effect of these events on the nation? How were remonstrances received? Describe some occurrences in Edinburgh. What was the position of the question on King William's death?
5. What favourable circumstances were considered to attend Queen Anne's accession? When did the last Scottish parliament meet? Give an account of its ceremonials. How was it different from the English parliament?
6. Give an account of the patriot party. What was the nature of the English Act of Settlement? What was the nature of the Scottish Act of Security? How was it carried?
7. What occurred in connexion with the indemnity of 1703? How was the question treated by the English legislature? Give an account of the Queensberry Plot?
8. How was the Annandale seized? Give an account of the seizure of the Worcester. What suspicions were excited? How was the case against Green defective? Give an account of his fate.
9. What conclusion was adopted from these events? What persons were appointed to prepare a treaty of union? What point did the English commissioners insist on? Give an account generally of the terms of the union.
10. How was the treaty received in the Scottish parliament? How did the Jacobites act? What was expected of the Cameronians? Describe the result. Give an account of the Acts of Security.

11. What was the *Squadrons Volantes*, and how did it act? What riots occurred? Give an account of the carrying of the measure in Scotland. What was its reception in England? State the merits of the charges of bribery made against Scottish statesmen.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### FROM THE UNION TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION OF 1715, A.D. 1707—1716.

The first Parliament of the United Kingdom—French Invasion—The English Episcopalians—Appeal System—Ministerial Changes—The Toleration and Patronage Acts—Last Days of Queen Anne—Hanover Accession—The Earl of Mar—Highland Gathering—Possession of the Country—Southern Rising—Macintosh's Expedition—March to England—Affair of Preston—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Conclusion of the Insurrection.

1. THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM of Great Britain assembled on the first of May in the year 1707. The Scottish people, naturally apprehensive for the fate of their country in alliance with so powerful a partner, watched eagerly the earliest proceedings of the government and parliament, and found considerable ground for apprehension. The new system of taxation rendered necessary new revenue officers, and as the levying was to be on the English system, persons who had experience of it were naturally appointed. In all countries there is a dislike to see strangers holding any lucrative office, especially that of a tax-gatherer. The Scottish taxes, too, being generally farmed or let out, were collected in a lax manner; the farmer sometimes finding it for his profit to allow evasions, when he saw that if he insisted on the full duty, there would be a decrease of the taxed commodity. The English officers, however, insisted on the letter of the law, and thus were held to be extortionate and tyrannical. Some legislative alterations fed the excitement thus occasioned. The Scottish privy-council was abolished by parliament, though there was no stipulation on the subject by the treaty of union; and the English system of justices of peace was extended to Scotland. Among some other matters of smaller moment, the country was naturally very much alarmed by a measure to extend to it the English law of high-treason. Uniformity in this department of law is of great advantage; and what is a state offence in one part of a country should

certainly be the same in another. But the Scots disliked the immediate extension to them of the English system without any attempt to examine the respective merits of the two, and frame an efficient system out of both.

FRENCH INVASION.—The reason for this innovation was an apparent disposition in the courts and jurymen of Scotland to save some of their countrymen who were charged with high-treason. To explain this occurrence, it is necessary to mention, that at the invitation of the Jacobites, who were so anxious to defeat the union by a foreign force, a certain Colonel Hooke, a Scottish exile, had made a circuit through Scotland, and reported that if a small force were landed to protect a Jacobite rising, an army could be raised in Scotland sufficient to recover not only that country but England also to the exiled house of Stuart. It was fortunate for the progress of the union that France, as has been already said, was unable to spare an army during its agitation. It was no sooner over, however, than an armament was prepared, consisting of five men-of-war and twenty-one frigates, with transports containing 5000 troops, destined to attempt a landing in Scotland. It was commanded by Admiral Fourbin, and the young prince, generally called the Pretender, from the suspicions attending on his birth, accompanied him. The squadron was closely watched by Admiral Byng. However, having slipped to sea without being immediately noticed, it gained a considerable distance by seizing the tide, and was off the east coast of Scotland while Byng was far behind. Had not the French admiral mistaken his course, and sighted the land first at Montrose instead of steering for the Frith of Forth, he might have landed the troops at Leith before the English fleet came up. When he had just reached the Isle of May on his return, Byng appeared in pursuit, and the French vessels, with the exception of one which was captured, sailed northwards, and made the best of their way to France. It is supposed that Fourbin might have landed his men on some part of the coast if the concerted signals had been made, but he seems to have gone away conscious that there was no great zeal to co-operate with a French force. A few gentlemen had met together in Stirlingshire, for the purpose, it was believed, of instituting a rising. They were brought to trial, and it was their acquittal that induced the government to abolish the Scottish law of treason, and adopt what they considered as a better system.

2. THE ENGLISH EPISCOPALIANS.—Between the Revolution and the Union the episcopalian party had steadily decreased in numbers and influence. But it still retained its chief hold in the north, where a few old clergymen remained in possession of their benefices under the protection of the act of comprehension, and the younger clergy ministered to their adherents as dissenting or unestablished divines. There were also a few episcopalians in the south, who sought the ordinances of their religion with great secrecy; for their clergy were universally Jacobites, who were liable to penalties for administering religious rites without having taken the oaths to government. After the Union, however, it occurred to some episcopalians—many of them English strangers who had settled in Scotland—that they might obtain the services of an English clergyman, who, as a loyal subject and a member of a church established in the empire of which Scotland was a part, would not be liable to disabilities or penalties. In the west the attempts made to open public meeting-houses by the episcopalians caused much riot and excitement. In Edinburgh a number of them—some English—put themselves under a pastor named Greenshields, a native of Scotland, but a clergyman of the church in Ireland. The opening of his chapel created no small popular indignation on political rather than on purely religious grounds; for it was said that the aggressive English were evidently about to subject Scotland to their own customs and usages, beginning with the church; and it was held on evidence of this that Greenshields used a liturgy,—a form which had not been known in Scotland since the outbreak occasioned by the service-book in 1638.

It was resolved to institute proceedings against the clergyman; but as he had qualified and taken the oaths to government it was impossible to punish him in the usual manner. The church courts, however, maintaining that by the Act of Security the presbyterian religion was appointed to be that of the country, asserted that he had no right to officiate contrary to the laws of the church. They laid their complaint before the magistrates, who decided in their favour, and the decision was confirmed by the court of session. Greenshields was recommended to appeal to the house of lords, and there the decisions against him were reversed; but the intervention of that tribunal was an unexpected novelty in Scotland, and it was thought that the English bishops and aristocracy were

interfering to support their own episcopacy and bear down the national religion.

**APPEAL SYSTEM.**—This, it may be observed, was the commencement of a very important era in the judicial administration of Scotland—the system of appeals to the house of lords. Appeals to the Scottish parliament were looked upon as anomalies, because originally the court of session was itself a committee of parliament appointed for the purpose of transacting the judicial business of the house. After the court had for some time existed as a purely legal tribunal, its notorious corruption in the reign of Charles II. induced the suitors to apply to parliament for a remedy. The right to do so was carried after a contest; and though there was no provision on the subject in the Articles of Union, it was tacitly considered that litigants had the right of appeal to the British parliament. In England all the judicial functions of parliament had been exercised in the house of lords, and there the appeals from Scotland came also to be considered. Every peer is of course entitled to sit in judgment on such appeals, but it has become the practice to leave them virtually to the decision of the eminent lawyers who have seats in the house of lords.

**3. MINISTERIAL CHANGES.**—A great change which occurred at court served to confirm and increase the suspicions occasioned by the success of Greenshields' appeal. Queen Anne, who was a well-meaning but weak woman, was liable to be controlled by favourites and flatterers. Sarah Jennings, the beautiful and imperious Duchess of Marlborough, had established an influence of this kind over her, which was generally attributed to the brilliant services of the duke. Events showed, however, that it had an origin more personal and contemptible. There was a young woman named Abigail Hill, equally well-known as Mrs Masham, distantly connected with the duchess, who procured for her a menial situation in the palace which brought her much in contact with the queen. Cunning and insinuating, she soon became a favourite, and her relations were gradually raised from the dust to lucrative appointments. One day that Abigail entered the queen's apartment, supposing her to be alone, the duchess knew from her pert and familiar manner that the waiting-maid was in the ascendant, and accurately anticipated her own fall.

Becoming all-powerful at court, Abigail Hill was flattered

by the political party opposed to the ministry, and procured secret interviews between the queen and their two leaders, **Harley** and the clever **St John**, better known as **Lord Bolingbroke**. They received considerable assistance from without. **Sacheverell**, an English clergyman, had preached the doctrines of divine right and absolute submission to kings, so offensive to the Revolution party. Led by their passions rather than their reason, the professed friends of freedom attempted by force to silence the champion of despotism, and **Sacheverell** was impeached. The populace, ever ready to revolt against the appearance of oppression, rallied round him. Being a vain and ambitious man, he fed the excitement, and on his acquittal, was carried in triumphant procession through London.

4. THE TOLERATION AND PATRONAGE ACTS.—These events weakened the great whig ministry, who were driven from office. It was the object of their successors to subvert all that they had done, and **Marlborough** was recalled and disgraced, just as he was leading his victorious troops into the territory of France. In Scotland, the tendency was to discourage the presbyterian party, whom the preceding ministry had befriended. A bill was therefore brought in for tolerating persons of the episcopal persuasion in the exercise of their worship. It was very bitterly resisted by the church, who maintained it to be a breach of the Act of Security, by which they alone were left in possession of the power of administering religious ordinances. Even those who could not join them in this, or object to the bare toleration of episcopacy, felt a suspicion that the act was only the first of a set of measures directed to the destruction of the Scottish establishment. The measure provided for the episcopalian clergy taking the oaths to the Revolution settlement; so that the toleration extended only to those who abjured jacobitism. The Church of Scotland, however, was deeply offended by the oath being required of her own clergymen. They said their loyalty could not be doubted, but they objected that spiritual persons should be required by the state to testify to political opinions. There was besides a peculiar critical objection to the method in which it was tendered, for it referred to the qualifications of the sovereign as they were indicated by an English act, and one of these was that she must be a member of the Church of England—a qualification which it was hard to make those of the Church of Scotland demand.

Another act, passed in the year 1712, created less sensation

at the time, but was calculated to sow the seeds of dispute and disruption in the church. The act passed immediately after the Revolution for the gradual extinction of patronage by purchase has been mentioned in its proper place. It was now resolved to repeal that act, and another was passed called "An act to restore the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the churches, vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." The statute made little alteration at first in the usual practice of moderating, as it was termed, in a call, by which it was generally ascertained that a clergyman was acceptable before he was presented to a congregation. But afterwards, when the church was divided into two parties, one of which approved of the exercise of patronage, it caused much discord. In the meantime, from the effect chiefly of the abjuration act, a small body of those who had adopted the Cameronian views left the church, with their clergy at their head.

5. LAST DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE.—These things were followed by events of minor importance, and by sinister occurrences, all tending to confirm the suspicion that the queen's counsellors were not merely political Tories, but that they were Jacobites, and intended to accomplish the restoration of the exiled family. Among other incidents, the Duchess of Gordon sent to the faculty of advocates a medal, representing the pretender's likeness on one side, and on the other an outline map of the British islands, with a Latin motto, hinting that they belonged to him. At the same time there was much restlessness in the highlands. It is now well known that Bolingbroke and others were in correspondence with the exiled court, <sup>1st August</sup> <sub>1714.</sub> } but they had not matured their plans when the queen died. The Dukes of Argyll and Somerset stepped unexpectedly into the council-chamber while the ministers were disputing and deliberating, and demanded that King George should be proclaimed. It had been for some time the practice that none but members of what is termed the cabinet-council should be called to such meetings. These two noblemen, however, were under the impression that the cabinet were plotting a restoration of the Stuarts. They entered the chamber for the purpose of giving their support to the law, and to the succession as it was fixed in the Hanover line, and it has been supposed that by this seasonable intrusion they defeated the first machinations of the Jacobites.

HANOVER ACCESSION.—The Elector of Hanover was

peacefully received in England as the successor of Queen Anne, with the title of King George. When the tidings of his proclamation reached Scotland there appeared to be the same tacit acquiescence in the new dynasty. It was known that a considerable number of the landed gentlemen were Jacobites, and the highlanders, still in their old uncivilised condition, were ready to join in any outbreak against the existing state of things. But it is probable that the country would have remained quiet had it not been for the disappointed ambition of one man, who did not hesitate to plunge the nation into civil war because he did not obtain the office he desired.

6. THE EARL OF MAR.—John Erskine, earl of Mar, had been for some time a whig politician, but he changed his opinions, and joined the tory ministry of Queen Anne's later days. At the time of her death he held the office of secretary of state for Scotland—one conferring on its holder a great local influence, which enabled him to support his friends and to oppress his enemies. There was a complete change of ministry on the accession of King George. All who had been in the confidence of the last administration were rigorously excluded from office; and not only were they proscribed, but a personal hostility was exhibited towards them so strong that no impartial person of the present day can look back on it without regret. Instead of dismissing many men from office and impeaching their leaders, Harley and St John, it would have been a more liberal, and perhaps a wiser policy, to have endeavoured to conciliate those at least who were not the avowed or secret enemies of the succession as it had been fixed by parliament.

The Earl of Mar, however, was not to be pitied on account of his dismissal. He addressed a letter to King George before he reached England, offering his services in the most obsequious and even servile manner. Had he been retained in office, he would probably have loyally served the new king, but being deprived of it, he resolved to use all his influence in Scotland to raise a rebellion.

HIGHLAND GATHERING.—Having appeared at court, the better to conceal his intentions, he sailed from London, disguised as a workman, in a collier ship bound for Newcastle, where he found a vessel which carried him to the northern shore of the Frith of Forth. Landing at Elie in Fife, he was joined by a few partisans, who probably were prepared for his coming, and rode with them to his own estates in Aberdeen—



shire, occupying the district between the upper ranges of the Dee and the Don. He next called a general meeting of the highland chiefs at Braemar, professedly for the purpose of meeting in one of those great hunting-matches in which the deer were driven from distant districts into a general centre, where they were shot by the sportsmen. The meeting, which in reality was held for the more important purpose of beginning the rebellion, took place on the 26th of August 1715. There are said to have been about 800 persons present; but the numbers were not so important as the fact that many of them were highland chiefs whose clansmen were ready to follow them in whatever course they might think fit to adopt. There were representatives present from the Gordons, the Mackenzies, the Breadalbane Campbells, the Atholl men, the Macdonalds of Glengary, and several other smaller clans.

On the 6th of September, the banner of insurrection was raised at Braemar, on an eminence beside the river Cluny, where there are still the remains of an old tower. A very small force at the disposal of the government might have suppressed the revolt at its commencement; but there was no army in Scotland, except the petty garrisons of Edinburgh, Stirling, and the other fortresses. The country, left to itself, was in the hands of the Jacobite insurgents, or of the government party, according as the one or the other locally predominated. In Edinburgh, "an association of men of quality and substance" was formed, who subscribed a fund for the support of the government. The people of Glasgow and its immediate neighbourhood were zealously loyal; and their Cameronian neighbours farther west, though they would not acknowledge the existing government, as it was "uncovenanted," yet would give no countenance to the insurgents. Stirling Castle commanded the bridge of Stirling, which formed the main pass between the highlands and the lowlands. There is an old proverb, that "The Forth bridles the wild hielander," and while the bridge was commanded by the government, they could only cross to the south by the distant ford of Frew, or the still more distant sources of the river. Thus the Jacobite district was bounded by the Forth, and towards the west they were checked by the feudal power of Argyll. To the north-west again, in Ross and Caithness, they were met by families which professed an adherence to the Hanover interest. They had at first possession of Inverness and its castle, but they were seized for the government, chiefly through the aid

of that Lord Lovat who became so notorious as a Jacobite. After a long exile for his crimes, he was desirous of propitiating the new rulers. By the capture of Inverness, and his influence with the clan Fraser, he was instrumental in checking the progress of the insurrection in the north. His clan had been led forth to join the Earl of Mar by his cousin's husband, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who was, according to the judgment of the law, the owner of the Lovat estates. But the people did not consider him their true chief; and when young Simon Fraser, whom they looked on as their proper leader, ordered them to leave Mar's camp, the greater portion of them deserted—an incident which shows that the clansmen cared little for either side, but implicitly followed the will of their chiefs. Lovat, for his services, not only received a pardon for his crimes, but obtained the estate forfeited by his kinsman; and he subsequently, as we shall find, employed his power to plot against the government which he had so materially assisted. The affair of Inverness happened after the rebellion had made considerable progress, but it is mentioned here that it may not interrupt the narrative of the more important events.

7. POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.—The Jacobites were thus restrained to the country between Loch Ness on the north and the Forth on the south. Mar appointed his head-quarters at Perth, and, unmolested, his forces increased until they amounted to about ten thousand men—a very considerable army in those days. Had the Earl of Mar been a man of military genius like Montrose or Claverhouse, he might indeed have seized on Scotland, and restored it for a time at least to the house of Stuart. But he was a civilian, who had no practical acquaintance with the camp, though the exiled prince appointed him commander-in-chief. The only active operation which he carried on was the levying of the cess and other taxes, and his inactivity greatly disgusted the highlanders, who hated to be embodied any length of time without seeing actual war. The chief activity indeed was to be found among the Macgregors and other highland freebooters, who professed themselves adherents of the Stuart cause, at least while they were in Mar's neighbourhood; while their leader, the renowned Rob Roy, had a secret understanding with the Duke of Argyll. These bands wandered through Fifeshire, Aberdeenshire, and other portions of the lowlands not within the boundaries where the government exercised authority, and

were no doubt apparent grounds for the charge, which were, however, too readily accepted without proof. When the tory ministry came into power in 1710, they endeavoured to criminate their predecessors. A committee was appointed to make a financial investigation, who reported that a sum of about £20,000 had been sent from England and distributed in Scotland. It consisted of various amounts, from more than £1000 paid to Marchmont the chancellor, down to £11, 2s. paid to Lord Banff,—the price at which he was said to have sold his country. The commission of inquiry could find nothing more, except that the sum was lent to the treasury of Scotland to pay some arrears of salary and other debts due there; and the circumstances of the case all tend to confirm this view of the matter. Perhaps the creditors of the government felt more content when their claims were paid, and the arrangement was so far prudent; but there is a great difference between the payment of a just debt and the administration of a bribe.

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### FROM THE UNION TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION OF 1715, A.D. 1707—1716.

The first Parliament of the United Kingdom—French Invasion—The English Episcopalians—Appeal System—Ministerial Changes—The Toleration and Patronage Acts—Last Days of Queen Anne—Hanover Accession—The Earl of Mar—Highland Gathering—Possession of the Country—Southern Rising—Macintosh's Expedition—March to England—Affair of Preston—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Conclusion of the Insurrection.

1. THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM of Great Britain assembled on the first of May in the year 1707. The Scottish people, naturally apprehensive for the fate of their country in alliance with so powerful a partner, watched eagerly the earliest proceedings of the government and parliament, and found considerable ground for apprehension. The new system of taxation rendered necessary new revenue officers, and as the levying was to be on the English system, persons who had experience of it were naturally appointed. In all countries there is a dislike to see strangers holding any lucrative office, especially that of a tax-gatherer. The Scottish taxes, too, being generally farmed or let out, were collected in a lax manner; the farmer sometimes finding it for his profit to allow evasions, when he saw that if he insisted on the full duty, there would be a decrease of the taxed commodity. The English officers, however, insisted on the letter of the law, and thus were held to be extortionate and tyrannical. Some legislative alterations fed the excitement thus occasioned. The Scottish privy-council was abolished by parliament, though there was no stipulation on the subject by the treaty of union; and the English system of justices of peace was extended to Scotland. Among some other matters of smaller moment, the country was naturally very much alarmed by a measure to extend to it the English law of high-treason. Uniformity in this department of law is of great advantage; and what is a state offence in one part of a country should

certainly be the same in another. But the Scots disliked the immediate extension to them of the English system without any attempt to examine the respective merits of the two, and frame an efficient system out of both.

FRENCH INVASION.—The reason for this innovation was an apparent disposition in the courts and jurymen of Scotland to save some of their countrymen who were charged with high-treason. To explain this occurrence, it is necessary to mention, that at the invitation of the Jacobites, who were so anxious to defeat the union by a foreign force, a certain Colonel Hooke, a Scottish exile, had made a circuit through Scotland, and reported that if a small force were landed to protect a Jacobite rising, an army could be raised in Scotland sufficient to recover not only that country but England also to the exiled house of Stuart. It was fortunate for the progress of the union that France, as has been already said, was unable to spare an army during its agitation. It was no sooner over, however, than an armament was prepared, consisting of five men-of-war and twenty-one frigates, with transports containing 5000 troops, destined to attempt a landing in Scotland. It was commanded by Admiral Fourbin, and the young prince, generally called the Pretender, from the suspicions attending on his birth, accompanied him. The squadron was closely watched by Admiral Byng. However, having slipped to sea without being immediately noticed, it gained a considerable distance by seizing the tide, and was off the east coast of Scotland while Byng was far behind. Had not the French admiral mistaken his course, and sighted the land first at Montrose instead of steering for the Frith of Forth, he might have landed the troops at Leith before the English fleet came up. When he had just reached the Isle of May on his return, Byng appeared in pursuit, and the French vessels, with the exception of one which was captured, sailed northwards, and made the best of their way to France. It is supposed that Fourbin might have landed his men on some part of the coast if the concerted signals had been made, but he seems to have gone away conscious that there was no great zeal to co-operate with a French force. A few gentlemen had met together in Stirlingshire, for the purpose, it was believed, of instituting a rising. They were brought to trial, and it was their acquittal that induced the government to abolish the Scottish law of treason, and adopt what they considered as a better system.

**2. THE ENGLISH EPISCOPALIANS.**—Between the Revolution and the Union the episcopalian party had steadily decreased in numbers and influence. But it still retained its chief hold in the north, where a few old clergymen remained in possession of their benefices under the protection of the act of comprehension, and the younger clergy ministered to their adherents as dissenting or unestablished divines. There were also a few episcopalians in the south, who sought the ordinances of their religion with great secrecy; for their clergy were universally Jacobites, who were liable to penalties for administering religious rites without having taken the oaths to government. After the Union, however, it occurred to some episcopalians—many of them English strangers who had settled in Scotland—that they might obtain the services of an English clergyman, who, as a loyal subject and a member of a church established in the empire of which Scotland was a part, would not be liable to disabilities or penalties. In the west the attempts made to open public meeting-houses by the episcopalians caused much riot and excitement. In Edinburgh a number of them—some English—put themselves under a pastor named Greenshields, a native of Scotland, but a clergyman of the church in Ireland. The opening of his chapel created no small popular indignation on political rather than on purely religious grounds; for it was said that the aggressive English were evidently about to subject Scotland to their own customs and usages, beginning with the church; and it was held on evidence of this that Greenshields used a liturgy,—a form which had not been known in Scotland since the outbreak occasioned by the service-book in 1638.

It was resolved to institute proceedings against the clergyman; but as he had qualified and taken the oaths to government it was impossible to punish him in the usual manner. The church courts, however, maintaining that by the Act of Security the presbyterian religion was appointed to be that of the country, asserted that he had no right to officiate contrary to the laws of the church. They laid their complaint before the magistrates, who decided in their favour, and the decision was confirmed by the court of session. Greenshields was recommended to appeal to the house of lords, and there the decisions against him were reversed; but the intervention of that tribunal was an unexpected novelty in Scotland, and it was thought that the English bishops and aristocracy were

interfering to support their own episcopacy and bear down the national religion.

**APPEAL SYSTEM.**—This, it may be observed, was the commencement of a very important era in the judicial administration of Scotland—the system of appeals to the house of lords. Appeals to the Scottish parliament were looked upon as anomalies, because originally the court of session was itself a committee of parliament appointed for the purpose of transacting the judicial business of the house. After the court had for some time existed as a purely legal tribunal, its notorious corruption in the reign of Charles II. induced the suitors to apply to parliament for a remedy. The right to do so was carried after a contest; and though there was no provision on the subject in the Articles of Union, it was tacitly considered that litigants had the right of appeal to the British parliament. In England all the judicial functions of parliament had been exercised in the house of lords, and there the appeals from Scotland came also to be considered. Every peer is of course entitled to sit in judgment on such appeals, but it has become the practice to leave them virtually to the decision of the eminent lawyers who have seats in the house of lords.

**3. MINISTERIAL CHANGES.**—A great change which occurred at court served to confirm and increase the suspicions occasioned by the success of Greenshields' appeal. Queen Anne, who was a well-meaning but weak woman, was liable to be controlled by favourites and flatterers. Sarah Jennings, the beautiful and imperious Duchess of Marlborough, had established an influence of this kind over her, which was generally attributed to the brilliant services of the duke. Events showed, however, that it had an origin more personal and contemptible. There was a young woman named Abigail Hill, equally well-known as Mrs Masham, distantly connected with the duchess, who procured for her a menial situation in the palace which brought her much in contact with the queen. Cunning and insinuating, she soon became a favourite, and her relations were gradually raised from the dust to lucrative appointments. One day that Abigail entered the queen's apartment, supposing her to be alone, the duchess knew from her pert and familiar manner that the waiting-maid was in the ascendant, and accurately anticipated her own fall.

Becoming all-powerful at court, Abigail Hill was flattered

by the political party opposed to the ministry, and procured secret interviews between the queen and their two leaders, **Harley** and the clever **St John**, better known as **Lord Bolingbroke**. They received considerable assistance from without. **Sacheverell**, an English clergyman, had preached the doctrines of divine right and absolute submission to kings, so offensive to the Revolution party. Led by their passions rather than their reason, the professed friends of freedom attempted by force to silence the champion of despotism, and **Sacheverell** was impeached. The populace, ever ready to revolt against the appearance of oppression, rallied round him. Being a vain and ambitious man, he fed the excitement, and on his acquittal, was carried in triumphant procession through London.

4. **THE TOLERATION AND PATRONAGE ACTS.**—These events weakened the great whig ministry, who were driven from office. It was the object of their successors to subvert all that they had done, and **Marlborough** was recalled and disgraced, just as he was leading his victorious troops into the territory of France. In Scotland, the tendency was to discourage the presbyterian party, whom the preceding ministry had befriended. A bill was therefore brought in for tolerating persons of the episcopal persuasion in the exercise of their worship. It was very bitterly resisted by the church, who maintained it to be a breach of the Act of Security, by which they alone were left in possession of the power of administering religious ordinances. Even those who could not join them in this, or object to the bare toleration of episcopacy, felt a suspicion that the act was only the first of a set of measures directed to the destruction of the Scottish establishment. The measure provided for the episcopalian clergy taking the oaths to the Revolution settlement; so that the toleration extended only to those who abjured jacobitism. The Church of Scotland, however, was deeply offended by the oath being required of her own clergymen. They said their loyalty could not be doubted, but they objected that spiritual persons should be required by the state to testify to political opinions. There was besides a peculiar critical objection to the method in which it was tendered, for it referred to the qualifications of the sovereign as they were indicated by an English act, and one of these was that she must be a member of the Church of England—a qualification which it was hard to make those of the Church of Scotland demand.

Another act, passed in the year 1712, created less sensation



at the time, but was calculated to sow the seeds of dispute and disruption in the church. The act passed immediately after the Revolution for the gradual extinction of patronage by purchase has been mentioned in its proper place. It was now resolved to repeal that act, and another was passed called "An act to restore the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the churches, vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." The statute made little alteration at first in the usual practice of moderating, as it was termed, in a call, by which it was generally ascertained that a clergyman was acceptable before he was presented to a congregation. But afterwards, when the church was divided into two parties, one of which approved of the exercise of patronage, it caused much discord. In the meantime, from the effect chiefly of the abjuration act, a small body of those who had adopted the Cameronian views left the church, with their clergy at their head.

5. LAST DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE.—These things were followed by events of minor importance, and by sinister occurrences, all tending to confirm the suspicion that the queen's counsellors were not merely political tories, but that they were Jacobites, and intended to accomplish the restoration of the exiled family. Among other incidents, the Duchess of Gordon sent to the faculty of advocates a medal, representing the pretender's likeness on one side, and on the other an outline map of the British islands, with a Latin motto, hinting that they belonged to him. At the same time there was much restlessness in the highlands. It is now well known that Bolingbroke and others were in correspondence with the exiled court, 1st August }  
1714 } but they had not matured their plans when the queen died. The Dukes of Argyll and Somerset stepped unexpectedly into the council-chamber while the ministers were disputing and deliberating, and demanded that King George should be proclaimed. It had been for some time the practice that none but members of what is termed the cabinet-council should be called to such meetings. These two noblemen, however, were under the impression that the cabinet were plotting a restoration of the Stuarts. They entered the chamber for the purpose of giving their support to the law, and to the succession as it was fixed in the Hanover line, and it has been supposed that by this seasonable intrusion they defeated the first machinations of the Jacobites.

HANOVER ACCESSION.—The Elector of Hanover was

peacefully received in England as the successor of Queen Anne, with the title of King George. When the tidings of his proclamation reached Scotland there appeared to be the same tacit acquiescence in the new dynasty. It was known that a considerable number of the landed gentlemen were Jacobites, and the highlanders, still in their old uncivilised condition, were ready to join in any outbreak against the existing state of things. But it is probable that the country would have remained quiet had it not been for the disappointed ambition of one man, who did not hesitate to plunge the nation into civil war because he did not obtain the office he desired.

6. THE EARL OF MAR.—John Erskine, earl of Mar, had been for some time a whig politician, but he changed his opinions, and joined the tory ministry of Queen Anne's later days. At the time of her death he held the office of secretary of state for Scotland—one conferring on its holder a great local influence, which enabled him to support his friends and to oppress his enemies. There was a complete change of ministry on the accession of King George. All who had been in the confidence of the last administration were rigorously excluded from office; and not only were they proscribed, but a personal hostility was exhibited towards them so strong that no impartial person of the present day can look back on it without regret. Instead of dismissing many men from office and impeaching their leaders, Harley and St John, it would have been a more liberal, and perhaps a wiser policy, to have endeavoured to conciliate those at least who were not the avowed or secret enemies of the succession as it had been fixed by parliament.

The Earl of Mar, however, was not to be pitied on account of his dismissal. He addressed a letter to King George before he reached England, offering his services in the most obsequious and even servile manner. Had he been retained in office, he would probably have loyally served the new king, but being deprived of it, he resolved to use all his influence in Scotland to raise a rebellion.

HIGHLAND GATHERING.—Having appeared at court, the better to conceal his intentions, he sailed from London, disguised as a workman, in a collier ship bound for Newcastle, where he found a vessel which carried him to the northern shore of the Frith of Forth. Landing at Elie in Fife, he was joined by a few partisans, who probably were prepared for his coming, and rode with them to his own estates in Aberdeen-

shire, occupying the district between the upper ranges of the Dee and the Don. He next called a general meeting of the highland chiefs at Braemar, professedly for the purpose of meeting in one of those great hunting-matches in which the deer were driven from distant districts into a general centre, where they were shot by the sportsmen. The meeting, which in reality was held for the more important purpose of beginning the rebellion, took place on the 26th of August 1715. There are said to have been about 800 persons present; but the numbers were not so important as the fact that many of them were highland chiefs whose clansmen were ready to follow them in whatever course they might think fit to adopt. There were representatives present from the Gordons, the Mackenzies, the Breadalbane Campbells, the Atholl men, the Macdonalds of Glengary, and several other smaller clans.

On the 6th of September, the banner of insurrection was raised at Braemar, on an eminence beside the river Cluny, where there are still the remains of an old tower. A very small force at the disposal of the government might have suppressed the revolt at its commencement; but there was no army in Scotland, except the petty garrisons of Edinburgh, Stirling, and the other fortresses. The country, left to itself, was in the hands of the Jacobite insurgents, or of the government party, according as the one or the other locally predominated. In Edinburgh, "an association of men of quality and substance" was formed, who subscribed a fund for the support of the government. The people of Glasgow and its immediate neighbourhood were zealously loyal; and their Cameronian neighbours farther west, though they would not acknowledge the existing government, as it was "uncovenanted," yet would give no countenance to the insurgents. Stirling Castle commanded the bridge of Stirling, which formed the main pass between the highlands and the lowlands. There is an old proverb, that "The Forth bridles the wild hielander," and while the bridge was commanded by the government, they could only cross to the south by the distant ford of Frew, or the still more distant sources of the river. Thus the Jacobite district was bounded by the Forth, and towards the west they were checked by the feudal power of Argyll. To the north-west again, in Ross and Caithness, they were met by families which professed an adherence to the Hanover interest. They had at first possession of Inverness and its castle, but they were seized for the government, chiefly through the aid

of that Lord Lovat who became so notorious as a Jacobite. After a long exile for his crimes, he was desirous of propitiating the new rulers. By the capture of Inverness, and his influence with the clan Fraser, he was instrumental in checking the progress of the insurrection in the north. His clan had been led forth to join the Earl of Mar by his cousin's husband, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who was, according to the judgment of the law, the owner of the Lovat estates. But the people did not consider him their true chief; and when young Simon Fraser, whom they looked on as their proper leader, ordered them to leave Mar's camp, the greater portion of them deserted—an incident which shows that the clansmen cared little for either side, but implicitly followed the will of their chiefs. Lovat, for his services, not only received a pardon for his crimes, but obtained the estate forfeited by his kinsman; and he subsequently, as we shall find, employed his power to plot against the government which he had so materially assisted. The affair of Inverness happened after the rebellion had made considerable progress, but it is mentioned here that it may not interrupt the narrative of the more important events.

7. POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.—The Jacobites were thus restrained to the country between Loch Ness on the north and the Forth on the south. Mar appointed his head-quarters at Perth, and, unmolested, his forces increased until they amounted to about ten thousand men—a very considerable army in those days. Had the Earl of Mar been a man of military genius like Montrose or Claverhouse, he might indeed have seized on Scotland, and restored it for a time at least to the house of Stuart. But he was a civilian, who had no practical acquaintance with the camp, though the exiled prince appointed him commander-in-chief. The only active operation which he carried on was the levying of the cess and other taxes, and his inactivity greatly disgusted the highlanders, who hated to be embodied any length of time without seeing actual war. The chief activity indeed was to be found among the Macgregors and other highland freebooters, who professed themselves adherents of the Stuart cause, at least while they were in Mar's neighbourhood; while their leader, the renowned Rob Roy, had a secret understanding with the Duke of Argyll. These bands wandered through Fifeshire, Aberdeenshire, and other portions of the lowlands not within the boundaries where the government exercised authority, and

thence carried off abundant plunder under the plea of levying imposts for the service of their sovereign. When they failed to obtain more tempting booty, they would take the coat or shoes from a stray traveller, and inform him that he was a creditor of King James to the amount of their value.

**SOUTHERN RISING.**—While the Jacobite commander remained in possession of the large district of country between the Frith of Forth and Loch Ness, and did not seem inclined to venture on any expedition into the southern counties, where the government still held command, he was quite aware of the importance of sending a portion of his large force to assist such efforts as the southern Jacobites could make. There was a party in the mountain districts of the south of Scotland ready to rise. Their leaders were the Lords Kenmuir, Winton, and Nithsdale. They had no large warlike following, such as the highland chiefs could command, but each was able to lead forth a few attached tenants, who appeared mounted on horses, with such relics as they could find of their old border arms. If this small party could assemble their followers in Scotland, they believed that they could join an overwhelming Jacobite force in the north of England, and vehement representations were made to Lord Mar to send them an auxiliary body from his large one.

**MACINTOSH'S EXPEDITION.**—It is supposed that the earl had formed distinct intentions of passing southwards and combining all the forces of the house of Stuart in the north of England, but appalled by the first difficulties presenting themselves, had abandoned the attempt. It was taken up, however, by an adventurous follower, commonly called the Brigadier Macintosh of Borlam. With a considerable force of highlanders, he seized the fishing-vessels on the northern coast of the Frith of Forth, with the view of employing them as transports for his troops. There were then several vessels of war in the frith whose vigilance it was necessary to elude. Macintosh contrived to make it appear as if his attempt was to be made at Burntisland, and consequently the war-vessels with all haste concentrated themselves on that spot, and cannonaded the place where they thought his operations were in progress.

Macintosh, however, moved his troops farther eastward, where the frith is wider, and there embarked them in the fishing-boats along a considerable line of coast. He managed, ere his movement was detected and interrupted, to convey over about 1600 men to the coast of Haddington. When

landed they felt extreme difficulty as to the course they should pursue, and at last marched to Leith with the view of attacking Edinburgh. They there found a deserted fortress ready to their hands, which they garrisoned, mounting on it guns taken from the vessels in the harbour. In possession of this strong seaport, they sent a boat with a message to their friends on the other side of the water, and to give it a certificate of safe-conduct past the vessels of war in the frith, they fired a gun after it as if it had been an enemy's boat escaping—a trick which was successful, and the messenger crossed safely.

Meanwhile there was great alarm in Edinburgh, and the provost of the city despatched a messenger to Stirling for assistance. John, duke of Argyll, an able statesman and a distinguished soldier, had been appointed commander-in-chief of the government troops in Scotland, and had fixed his headquarters at Stirling. He promptly started for Edinburgh with a sufficient force, which reached the town nearly at the same time with Macintosh's arrival in Leith. The insurgents were so well fortified that they could not be attacked without deliberate preparations, and while these were in progress they evacuated their post and marched eastwards to meet their friends from the border. The old castle, or palace as it was called, of Seton then stood on a rocky eminence near Tranent, and belonged to the Earl of Winton, one of the Jacobite leaders. It served Macintosh for a garrison and a place of assembling for his lowland coadjutors. After a short delay, in consequence of instructions from Mar, he marched to Kelso, to meet a detachment of supporters from England.

8. MARCH TO ENGLAND.—These were the Northumberland gentry, who had met at Greenrigg, and with Mr Forster and Lord Derwentwater at their head, had agreed to a rising in the north of England. They found very few coadjutors, but they expected their force rapidly to increase when they should be enabled to bring over a Scottish Jacobite army to their aid. They met the Scottish borderers under Lord Kenmuir  
 19th Sept. } at Rothbury, and thence moving together entered  
 1715. } Kelso almost simultaneously with the troops under Macintosh. The united army, now consisting of highlanders, southern Scots, and Englishmen of Northumberland, marched into England, many of the highlanders deserting at the border, and the others crossing it with extreme reluctance. They proceeded by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, effectually defeating any opposition which the loyalists of the district could

offer, but collecting very few adherents. The chief command fell on Forster, a careless and dissipated man, who neglected every proper precaution for the safety of the lives committed to his charge.

AFFAIR OF PRESTON.—Generals Carpenter and Wills were sent to oppose them, but the uncertainty and vacillation of their movements prevented them from being readily traced. At length Wills tracked them to the town of Preston, and, joined by Carpenter, attacked the small army of about 1500 men with an overwhelming force. Forster was paralyzed by the danger of his position, but Macintosh with his highlanders vigorously defended the entrances of the town from behind barricades, and occasioned a considerable slaughter among the assailants. A council of war was held, in which Macintosh proposed to make a general sally and cut their way through  
 18th Nov. } the enemy or fall in the attempt; but the proposal  
 1715. } was overruled, and the insurgents submitted at discretion.

BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR.—Just at the same time, the insurrection reached its crisis in the north. Mar's inaction could continue no longer, for Argyll, daily increasing his army, would speedily move northwards and annihilate the insurrectionary force. It was resolved therefore at last to risk a battle, and Argyll having begun his march northwards as Mar commenced his in the other direction, the two armies met about halfway between their respective camps, on the gentle elevation near Dunblane, called the Sheriffmuir. It was a peculiarity of the ground that the two armies could not see each other until they met face to face. Hence by a curious miscalculation each outflanked the other on the right—that is to say, each line stretched beyond that of its adversary in the direction of the right hand. Hence at the first shock, the right of each was victorious over the left of the other. In such circumstances, the larger army would naturally have the advantage, since a portion of the victorious wing of the Jacobites might have been brought back to attack Argyll from behind. Thus had Mar been a skilful general, as he had by far the greater number, he might have dispersed the duke's left, and then brought an overwhelming force against his victorious right. But the skill of Argyll reversed this movement, and after he had dispersed the highland left, he brought up his troops against that portion of the Jacobite army which had obtained the advantage over his left. They chose without a contest to leave the

field, of which the duke remained master, though the doubtful character of the victory produced much ridicule. The celebrated Rob Roy was present at this battle with a body of his followers; but as his object was not to fight but to plunder, he wished to see which side was victorious before committing himself. He was supposed to be on the Jacobite side; but when he was ordered to charge he stood still, saying, that if they could not do it without him, they could not do it with him.

9. CONCLUSION OF THE INSURRECTION.—This defeat occurred  
 13th Nov. } on the same day as the surrender at Preston. It  
 1715. } was immediately followed by an event which was expected to reanimate the spirits of the insurgents—the appearance among them of the young prince called James VIII., for whose cause they risked their lives and disturbed the peace of the country. But his selfish, luxurious, unwarlike character—his frame broken by dissipation, and his feeble and sluggish mind, cast a gloom over the spirits of his followers instead of cheering them. The highlanders, who greatly admired strength of body and determination of spirit, could not conceal their contempt of such a leader, and they gave substantial evidence of it by gradually dispersing to their glens. There were to the last violent disputes in the camp, since some of the more enthusiastic or ambitious highland leaders thought that the throne might be won by a contest. Argyll, however, was gradually approaching, while the army of the Pretender, as he was termed, diminished. They burned the villages of Auchterarder and others lying between Dunblane and Perth, that they might not afford shelter to Argyll's army,—an act of cruelty for which it should be remembered that the prince, who was more foolish than severe, felt much sorrow. The  
 20th Jan. } retreat from Perth was commenced on a winter mid-  
 1716. } night, the few remaining troops crossing the Tay on the ice. The prince, with Mar and some of the leaders, on reaching Montrose, secretly quitted the army, and embarked in vessels which, according to arrangement, were to convey them to France. The highlanders, deeming themselves deserted, dispersed northward through their glens, where they could not be easily pursued.

Of the captives taken in England, a large number were condemned and executed,—Winton, Kenmuir, and Derwentwater being the most conspicuous victims. Lord Nithsdale escaped through the devotion of his wife, and Macintosh characteristi-



cally fought his way out of a London prison. Some attempts were made to obtain convictions in Scotland, but they were unsuccessful. A number of prisoners were removed for trial from Edinburgh to England, and though this was done under the authority of a special act of parliament, it was justly esteemed a national aggression on the judicial independence of Scotland.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How did the administration of the revenue give offence? What legislative events followed the Union? Give an account of the attempted French invasion.
2. What was the position of the episcopalian party? What was done in relation to Greenshields? What view was taken of the final decision in his favour? Give an account of the appeal system.
3. What was the character of Queen Anne? Give an account of the rise of Abigail Hill. What was the result of it?
4. What was the toleration act? On what ground was it disliked? What was the nature of another act relating to the church?
5. Give a specimen of the incidents which roused suspicion of Jacobite intrigues. How did the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset act? How was the Hanover succession apparently received?
6. Give an account of the Earl of Mar and his character. How was the gathering in the highlands accomplished? Give an account of the further progress of the insurrection. What occurred at Inverness?
7. What was the extent of the Jacobite power in Scotland at that time? How did the highland freebooters fare? Give an account of the rising in the south. Give an account of Macintosh's expedition.
8. What junction took place at Kelso? Give an account of the march into England and the affair of Preston. Give an account of the battle of Sheriffmuir.
9. What was the effect of the appearance of the exiled prince? How did the insurrection come to an end? What executions took place?

## CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE '15 TO THAT OF THE '45,  
A.D. 1716—1748.

Jacobite Schemes and Precautionary Measures—Unpopular Taxes—Porteous Mob—The Secession—Precursors of the '45—Arrival of the Prince and Gathering of the Highlanders—March Southward—Battle of Prestonpans—March through England—Return to Scotland—Battle of Falkirk—March Northwards—Culloden—Immediate Results of the Rebellion—Judicial Reforms.

1. JACOBITE SCHEMES AND PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.—It will be observed that now only were the Stuarts permanently driven from the throne of Britain. At the Revolution the

queen was a member of that house, and though the Dutch prince held rule alone for a few years, yet Queen Anne, the child of the exiled king, was to succeed him. It was natural that after so extensive a contest against the parliamentary settlement of the crown in the rebellion of 1715, there should be a good deal of party feeling and division in the country. The Jacobites were exasperated, and enjoyed the hope of a new revolution; the supporters of the government were ever excited by fears of another attempt to overturn it. In fact, scarcely had the rebellion been suppressed ere there was a new project for an invasion under the auspices of Charles XII. the celebrated King of Sweden. The plot was discovered by the government, and the Swedish ambassador, who had been aiding it, was seized in London.

In the year 1718, an attempt was made to land a Jacobite force, chiefly consisting of Spaniards, in Glenshiel, on the west coast of Ross-shire, but it was easily suppressed. In 1725, there were strong grounds for believing that another effort would be made to embody the highlanders in the cause of the exiled family, and the precautionary measure was adopted of compelling them to give up their arms. They appeared to comply cheerfully with this demand, but events twenty years later showed that they had managed to evade it. In the meanwhile a new fortress was built, called Fort Augustus, at one end of Loch Ness, and another was erected at Inverness. Fort William was strengthened, and small block-houses were raised here and there in the highlands. A measure of still greater importance for the subjugation and the civilisation of this wild territory, was the construction of a number of military roads, under the renowned engineer General Wade, which are still the main branches of communication in the highlands. They are well known from a celebrated rhyming couplet, which says,—

“He who saw these roads before they were made,  
Would hold up his hands and bless General Wade.”

They completely altered the condition of that almost inaccessible country, whose barbarism and isolation before they existed cannot now easily be conceived.

2. UNPOPULAR TAXES.—Whatever disturbances occurred in Scotland during the interval between the two rebellions were chiefly occasioned by the pressure of taxation. The malt-tax was nominally the same as in England, but up to the year

1725 there had been a practical inequality favourable to the people of Scotland in the method of its collection. In that year it was resolved to raise £20,000 from them by a rigid exaction of the duty. This was resisted so violently in Glasgow, that the town was at one time in possession of the mob, and a conflict occurred with a military force in which several lives were lost.

The high customs duties, which were more suitable to a rich country like England, proved in Scotland an invincible temptation to smuggling. Along a line of coast, as extensive as that of England itself, not only the common people and the farmers, but the landed gentry themselves, favoured the smuggler. Hence in the attempts to guard the shore severe conflicts often occurred, and when in these the smuggler was victorious, it was looked upon as a national triumph against English taxation; any effort by which the revenue was made to suffer, being regarded with favour even though it might involve the perpetration of a crime. A man named Wilson, a daring smuggler, formed a plan for attacking the custom-house at Pittenweem, on the shore of Fife, and robbing it of the government money there deposited. He and his chief accomplice, a youth named Robertson, were apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. They contrived an escape from their jail, but it was defeated by the obstinacy of Wilson, who determined to be the first to pass through an opening in the window, and being a stout heavy man, he stuck there until the attempt was detected. When they were attending church in Edinburgh, to hear what was called the condemned sermon, Wilson, who felt remorse that he had prevented Robertson from escaping, fell upon the guards, and holding them with his teeth and hands, gave his accomplice a second opportunity, of which he took immediate advantage.

**PORTEOUS MOB.**—It was rumoured that a desperate gang of smugglers would rush forward and rescue Wilson at the gibbet. Preparations were made to resist an attack, but none took place until the execution was over, when symptoms of turbulence began to appear among the crowd assembled in the open space called the Grassmarket. Captain Porteous, the commander of the city-guard, directed his men to fire, and some citizens, mere spectators, were killed. Great exasperation was felt against Porteous, who was tried for murder, and condemned to death. When the time for his execution arrived, the indignant crowd heard that he had been reprieved.

They separated quietly; but one night a well-disciplined force made its appearance in the streets of Edinburgh, no one could tell how. They mastered the town-guard, burned the door of the Tolbooth, and seizing Porteous, hanged him solemnly at <sup>7th Sept.</sup> } the usual place of execution. All efforts to discover <sup>1736.</sup> } the perpetrators of this act were defeated, and it was viewed as a signal instance of deep discontent among the people.

3. THE SECESSION.—These events were contemporary with an important schism in the church. The Patronage Act of 1712 had been gradually doing its work, in dividing the clergy into two parts. A portion of them might be considered as the successors of the episcopalian clergy who had died out. They made themselves acceptable to the landed gentry who went over from episcopacy to presbyterianism, and favoured their exercise of patronage. The other party denounced its exercise as contrary to the rights of the church and its accepted adherents. The moderate party, as the friends of the patrons were called, had a large majority in the church-courts, where they condemned a book, much esteemed by the others, called "The Marrow of Modern Divinity." Their next step was to pass an act of the church believed to favour instead of

<sup>May</sup> } condemning patronage. When a vacancy occurred, <sup>1733.</sup> } and there was no presentation within six months by the proper patron, it devolved on the presbytery to present. By this act the call, on which the presbytery were to act, was to be made by the heritors or landlords instead of the communicants. It happened that the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, one of the leaders of the anti-patronage party, had been appointed to preach a sermon before the synod of Stirling on his ceasing to be moderator of that body, when he took occasion to issue a fervent denunciation of the offensive act. He was rebuked by the synod, and their conduct towards him was

<sup>3d May</sup> } confirmed by the general assembly, who would <sup>1733.</sup> } not receive a solemn protest made by him and three of his brethren. Erskine and his small body of adherents soon afterwards met in a remote hamlet in Kinross-shire,

<sup>15th Dec.</sup> } called Gairney Bridge, where they constituted them- <sup>1733.</sup> } selves a presbytery, and founded the "Secession" from the Church of Scotland, though they were not declared by the judicatories of that church to be separated from their body until the year 1740. Their numbers gradually increased, and at the time of the rebellion of 1745 they were a body of

considerable influence, whose adherence to the government was of great importance.

4. PRECURSORS OF THE '45.—George II. had ascended the throne in 1727 without question or conflict. It was known that there was still a considerable number of Jacobites in the country, and that the highlanders, discontented, idle, and war-like as ever, would be ready instruments in the hands of any one who could create a revolt. They preserved still their peculiar manners and customs, and had scarcely more in common with the other inhabitants of Scotland than the Hindoos of the present day have. The chiefs to whom they chose to submit had an absolute power over them, but they did not always acknowledge in that capacity the person whom the law held to be the proprietor. Thus we have seen that before the rebellion of 1715, Simon Fraser of Lovat was a hunted fugitive, yet as he was an adventurous man the clan acknowledged him as their chief, instead of his cousin's husband who possessed the lands. He was thus able to lead the clan from the rebel side to that of the government, and for this service he obtained the title of Lord Lovat along with the estates which were forfeited by their owner. The power which such persons possessed excited them to pursue intrigues and projects for their private ends, and of this Lovat was a signal example. He quarrelled with the government because it would not comply with all his demands, and was prepared to adopt, whenever it showed signs of success, the cause of the exiled prince, who promised to make him a duke. Many of the highland chiefs were in a similar position, and some of them were so poor that any change afforded them at least a hope of an improvement in their position. At the same time, several of the lowland gentry still retained the old Jacobite opinions, and could aid the cause by their personal advice and service, though they could not, like the others, bring forward a body of armed retainers.

Notwithstanding these sources of danger, the nation indulged in a feeling that the settlement, which might be said to have existed since the Revolution, was not to be disturbed. In the year 1744, this sense of security was troubled by a rumour that the French were preparing to invade the country, and bring over the young Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the son of him who had landed in Scotland in 1715, and the grandson of King James who had fled at the Revolution. It

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turned out, however, to be by no means expedient for French interests to fulfil the hopes which had been held out to the young prince. The promised aid was postponed from time to time, and the British government, knowing that he was not to have the assistance of a French armament, had no apprehension of his coming in any other form. Indeed, his friends in Scotland, fearing some rash attempt, had advised him to remain abroad.

5. ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE AND GATHERING OF THE HIGHLANDERS.—He was a youth of sanguine temperament and adventurous spirit. He believed in the divine right of his cause, and thought Providence would carry it through without reference to human means. Accordingly he made his escape from his father's court in Italy, and reached the coast of France. There he managed to raise about £8000, with which he purchased two vessels and some arms. He sailed in the smaller of the vessels called the *Doutelle*—a fortunate choice for him, since the other was attacked and driven back by a British man-of-war. On the 23d of June he landed in the remote island of Eriskay, between Barra and South Uist. The weather was foul, the place a dreary and barren rock, with no shelter for the prince but a smoky turf-hut. To complete the cheerlessness of the prospect, the few neighbouring proprietors or chiefs, whose presence was desired, did not appear, being evidently anxious not to commit themselves. The first important person who came to him—Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, brother of the chief of Clanranald, advised him to return and abandon his rash attempt. Subsequently, he found Clanranald himself and Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, who attended him on the deck of the *Doutelle*; but they, too, were cold and distrustful, until, as it has been said, their latent enthusiasm was suddenly raised by that of a brother of Kinloch-Moidart, who, unable to endure their cautious hesitation, cried out that he would follow his prince though he went alone. The next influential individual dealt with was Cameron of Lochiel, who had so high a reputation for sagacity that it is said the question of insurrection or no insurrection was made to depend on the view taken by him. What influences were employed is not very distinctly known, but in the end he yielded. Gordon of Glenbucket, who had been engaged in the previous insurrection, and some other leaders, gave in their adherence. The aged Marquess of Tullibardine, who would have been Duke of Atholl if his concern in the previous insurrection had

not occasioned the forfeiture of his title, came over with the prince, and it was believed that the Atholl highlanders would follow his banner as that of the true heir. It was resolved solemnly to raise the standard of rebellion; and the post of honour was assigned on the occasion to old Tullibardine, when the ceremony took place in the remote valley of Glenfinnan on the 19th of August.

**MARCH SOUTHWARDS.**—From this solitary district the prince marched at the head of about 1500 men. They were passing through Glenspean, between Fort William and Fort Augustus, when they encountered a small body of troops, which, on account of some faint rumours of disturbance, had been sent to reinforce the former garrison. They were easily routed by the superior number of the highlanders, to whom this first success imparted confidence. When the rumour of the landing reached Edinburgh, Sir John Cope, the commander of the forces in Scotland, was instructed to march northwards. He expected to recruit his army from the country as he passed on, but he soon found that there was a general lukewarmness even where there was no hostility; for Scotland believed herself to be subjected to much neglect and hardship by the government, and the enthusiasm which had brought about the Revolution had disappeared. When Cope reached Dalwhinnie, it was a question whether he should ascend the wild road which crosses to Fort Augustus by the pass of Corryarick, or should turn to the right and march by the Spey to Inverness: he chose the latter alternative. He thus, perhaps, avoided destruction by the highlanders, who were then crossing the pass, but he went to a place which was not attacked, and thus left the south country open to them. His true policy would have been to defend Perth or Stirling, according to the plan adopted by Argyll in 1715.

It has been said that the prince had just a guinea in his pocket when he entered Perth on the 4th of September. Here he raised a small subsidy, received some recruits, and rendered himself popular by his pleasing manners. As there was no regular force to defend the capital, it was of importance to seize it while Cope was absent, and the march recommenced. There was naturally a great deal of confusion and consternation in Edinburgh when it was ascertained that the army of wild highlanders was approaching. An attempt was made to raise a burgher-guard and fortify the walls; but these were of little avail even had they been manned by regular soldiers. The

dignitaries of the law had departed, and the provost acted with such inconsistency that he was accused of favouring the Jacobite cause. A deputation was sent out at night to make terms with the prince, and when the city-gate was opened to them on their return, a body of highlanders rushed in, by whom the other gates were opened, and next morning the citizens saw the mountaineers doing duty as if they were the regular garrison of the city. The prince himself made a solemn entry, and held his court in Holyrood, the palace of his fathers.

6. BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.—In the meantime, Sir John Cope, finding himself at a distance from the seat of hostilities, embarked his troops in transports, which conveyed them to Dunbar, at the entrance of the Frith of Forth. As soon as their landing was known, the prince marched to meet them; and when Cope had got as far on his way to Edinburgh as the small village of Preston, about half-a-mile west of the present Prestonpans, the highlanders, keeping the higher ground, had reached the village of Tranent. Both armies were small, neither of them exceeding 3000 men. A swamp lay between them, whence Cope supposed that he was not liable to be surprised. At midnight, however, a plan was formed in the highland camp for skirting the morass, near Seton Palace, and crossing the brook rising from it. They accomplished this movement with great celerity and silence; and at the dawn of day Cope's first intimation of it was the sight of the highlanders impetuously rushing in dark clusters on his unformed line. The result was almost instantaneous. Entangled among buildings and park walls, a number both of horse and foot were killed, <sup>22d October</sup> and the remainder fled. The victory of the in-  
<sup>1745.</sup> } surgents was complete; and the other side had to lament the loss of the good and gallant Colonel Gardiner, cut down close to his country mansion of Bankton.

MARCH THROUGH ENGLAND.—This victory seemed to confirm the confident aspirations of the prince; but his followers were somewhat startled when he told them that he intended to march straight to London. There was no systematic opposition to the plan, since they saw that with all its fair promises there was little substantial hope in the adventure, and thought it of small moment whether it was put down in England or Scotland. Accordingly, on the 31st of October, the Jacobite army, which had reached about 5000 men, proceeded across the border in two divisions. The prince and his friends were extremely anxious to make a favourable impression on the



English people, and the march was conducted with great order and regularity, all attempts at plunder and oppression being restrained. The active duties of command fell on Lord George Murray, the brother of Tullibardine, an able and indefatigable soldier, who, however, complained that his eminent services on the occasion were ill appreciated by a master who thought himself born to rule, and considered the utmost devotion as nothing but his due.

Their progress began triumphantly in the siege of Carlisle. Though it possessed a strong castle, the military force posted in it was quite insufficient for its defence, and the citizens and peasantry of England had become so unaccustomed to war that the militia abandoned the idea of resistance. Hence the town and its castle capitulated to the insurgents. This acquisition was the more important to them as they did not possess any one of the Scottish national strongholds. Leaving Carlisle garrisoned, they passed through Lancashire, and reached Manchester on the 29th of November. Hitherto their course had been far from propitious, since the people looked calmly on, and of the gentry even that portion believed to be Jacobite did not join them. At Manchester, then the centre of Jacobitism in England, they received a more cheering welcome, and incorporated a few recruits. The limited character of this success, however, only showed that they had nothing to hope from England. When on the 4th of December they reached Derby, not much more than a hundred miles from London, they were aware that three armies each larger than their own were likely to concentrate on them, and that a retreat was inevitable. The prince saw in this the dissolution of all his visions, but he was obliged to consent. The retreat was conducted with skill; and at Kendal a stout resistance was made to an advanced party of the pursuers, but the men were dispirited and reckless. The Manchester recruits formed into a regiment, were left for the defence of Carlisle,—an act which brought great obloquy on the prince and his advisers, since the place was sure of being taken, and the garrison, or at least their leaders, certain of being put to death as rebels taken in arms.

7. RETURN TO SCOTLAND.—On re-entering Scotland it was found that the functions of government had been resumed in Edinburgh and throughout the south. In the north, however, a small party of French had landed, and several of the minor chiefs had given in their adherence to the Stuart cause. The Lord President Forbes used his utmost exertions to keep his

neighbours from committing themselves; but without troops or money he could only be partially successful; and he was not able to prevent the raising of the clan Fraser by the perfidious Lovat, who at the same time professed the most devoted loyalty to King George.

Thus, when the prince returned from England with the small remnant of his original army, there was a considerable additional force ready to join him, and his cause appeared somewhat to brighten. He levied a large contribution in Glasgow, and was besieging Stirling Castle, when news came of the approach of the English General Hawley from Edinburgh, and it was determined to attack him.

**BATTLE OF FALKIRK.**—Hawley's army was drawn up on Falkirk Muir, and he was himself enjoying the hospitalities of Lady Kilmarnock at Callendar House, when a messenger told him that the highlanders were upon him. He hurried to the field too late to regulate the movements. His men and the enemy were running a race to reach the higher ground, but the nimble highlanders gained it, and rushed on their enemy, who, at the same time, confused and blinded by wind and rain, were immediately broken. Hawley retreated, and though there was little slaughter, there was again a decided victory, though it might have been turned against the conquerors at any time had the English general not lost his presence of mind. He was a blustering and domineering man, who had ridiculed Cope's defeat at Prestonpans, and ostentatiously erected gibbets on which he swore he would hang the rebels. Hence his defeat was a source of great exultation. But this success could not conceal from Lord George Murray and the more sagacious of the prince's followers that certain destruction lay before them. They could not hope always to be successful, and they had not the main element of solid strength in an army—that which will enable it to bear up against a reverse. At the same time the few Frenchmen landed in the north were but a poor representative of the succours which they had been expecting from France.

**8. MARCH NORTHWARDS.**—The siege of Stirling Castle had been for some time pursued under the auspices of a French engineer. But the highlanders were more expert at hand to hand battles than at sieges, and the Frenchman does not seem to have made up for their deficiency. The commander of the castle allowed them to go on making works, which he knew he could blow to pieces whenever he pleased, as he thus kept

them within the lowlands while Cumberland was approaching. The want of active warfare caused numerous desertions in the ranks of the highlanders, and deadly feuds arose among themselves. One of Clanranald's followers, by the accidental discharge of a gun, killed the young chief of Glengary. Though the man who was the innocent cause of the calamity was executed, this did not appease Glengary's followers, who drew themselves off burning with rage; while, at the same time, the Clanranald people complained of one of their number being put to death for an accident. Everything combined to render it necessary that the army should retreat, and hearing of Cumberland's rapid approach, the movement was made so abruptly that, in blowing up the powder magazine at St Ninian's, the church of that village was destroyed. Lord George Murray proposed to hold Blair-Atholl as commanding one of the passes of the highlands, but the proposal was rejected, and the march northwards proceeded.

The highland army now marched to Inverness. That district had been hitherto kept in awe chiefly by the exertions of the President Forbes, who induced several of the chiefs to remain in the government interest, and was even able to exercise some control over his cunning neighbour Lord Lovat. On the approach of the insurgents Lovat threw off the mask, endeavouring as his first act of rebellion to seize on the president, to whom he was under many and deep obligations, but who, with Lord Loudoun and their few followers, passed the Moray Frith to seek refuge in Ross-shire. While they were there, the highlanders stationed at Inverness attempted to surprise them. A fleet of fishing-vessels was collected by Moir of Stoneywood, the leader of the Aberdeenshire Jacobites, by which a force was conveyed across the frith during a heavy fog. The president, however, escaped, and found refuge in the Isle of Skye, whose two chiefs he had, much to their own advantage, persuaded to remain loyal.

CULLODEN.—It was known that so soon as the spring was far enough advanced, decisive steps would be taken by the Duke of Cumberland, who had seen much service abroad, and was a severe and rigid soldier. While the prince's army passed the winter to the north of the Spey, that of the duke remained at Aberdeen. He commenced his march in April, reaching the Spey on the 11th. The Jacobites, whose headquarters were at Inverness, had suffered much from privation. Feeling that the decisive moment approached, they were unable to supply

themselves with sufficient food in their encampment among the parks of Culloden-house. Though necessarily depressed and exhausted, they yet resolved to attempt a night-attack on Cumberland's force, and they had come within three miles of it, when the breaking of the dawn showed that they must be discovered, and they retreated to the bleak upland called Culloden Muir to await their enemy. The highland army amounted to 6000 men—that of the duke to 10,000. The latter had been trained all winter systematically to stand steady under the highland charge, the duke having adopted the just conclusion that, if once met and repulsed, the mountaineers were not so disciplined as to be depended on in single conflict. He placed his men in strong lines with spaces between, so that when the front line was driven in the second and third could act. The result was as he expected. The highlanders made an impetuous rush. As the word of command was not heard quite along the line, the charge was unequal, but it was sufficient to break the front of their enemy. The lines in the rear, however, kept up a steady fire, and the highlanders were killed before they could reach their assailants. The furious onset, with which they had so often been successful, thus failing 16th April } them, the remainder who were not shot down turned  
1746. } and fled. The prince escaped surrounded by a few followers, and thus ended his hopes of a crown.

9. IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE REBELLION.—The extinction of the rebellion by the battle of Culloden may be considered as the conclusion of the separate national history of Scotland. The immediate consequences of the battle, however, did not promise well for the Scotch. The Duke of Cumberland and his officers had been bred in the school of continental warfare, and were little accustomed to respect the rights of British subjects. Hence not only were the defeated rebels pursued with great cruelty, but the country was to some extent treated like a conquered province. The law, which required all bills for high-treason to be found in the counties where the crime was committed, was suspended to enable the rebels to be tried in England. The august tribunal of the house of lords condemned to death Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock, whose fate was followed by that of the aged Lovat, grown gray in treachery and crime. The less important prisoners were sent to the towns near the border, and in Carlisle there were above thirty executed, and in York above twenty. Upwards of forty persons of distinction who had escaped were "forfeited" and

deprived of their estates and civil privileges by act of parliament.

**THE PRINCE'S ADVENTURES.**—Among those who were enabled to leave the country was the young prince by whose ambition all this misery had been caused. After months of adventurous wanderings among the Western Isles, and many wonderful escapes, he was conveyed on board a French vessel on the 20th of September. The first person whom he encountered after the battle was Lovat, who was waiting in the solitary glen of Strathearick, where he had prepared a feast to welcome the prince as a victor. It was the first meeting between the ambitious youth and the hoary plotter, and it is said to have been one of reproach and recrimination. A girl who was in the house used in after-times to describe the tumultuous approach of the fugitives, whose apparition was so strange in that lonely place, that she believed the whole to be a fairy scene. The prince, during his wanderings, encountered the utmost extremity of human hardship, in the shape of cold, hunger, toil, and ceaseless risk, paying dearly, at least for a time, for that culpable ambition which had disturbed a peaceful country, and led many brave men to slaughter. The secret of his hiding-place was known on many occasions to very poor people, who did themselves honour by preserving it, though a high reward was offered for his apprehension. His singular adventures made him for some time a popular hero in Paris. The British government, however, insisted that he should not be permitted to remain in such close vicinity, and he was forcibly removed from the French dominions. He led afterwards a dissipated and degraded life in Italy. He died in the year 1788 without lawful children, and as his younger brother had become a cardinal of the Romish church, the Stuart cause was then virtually extinct, although there were on the Continent several royal families more nearly descended from the house of Stuart than that of Hanover.

**JUDICIAL REFORMS.**—An opportunity was taken on the suppression of the rebellion to reconstruct the judicial system of Scotland, which had many flagrant defects. Large districts of country were under what was called heritable jurisdiction,—that is to say, the right to be a judge was inherited like the title to an estate. The person who had authority to acquit or condemn his fellow-men by such a tenure would be under no responsibility for the exercise of his functions, and would naturally employ them for his own ends. Hence, besides the

many acts of petty injustice likely to be committed, a chief such as Lovat might exercise his authority to embody the people over whom he ruled against the existing government, if he found a reason for doing so. These hereditary judgeships were valued; a sum amounting to about £150,000 was paid to their owners, and thenceforth the law of Scotland was administered by responsible professional judges chosen by the crown. At the same time, the military tenure called wardholding, which obliged the vassal to attend his chief in war, was abolished, and a pecuniary consideration adopted in its stead.

## EXERCISES.

1. What rendered party feeling and division natural? What occurred in connexion with Charles XII. of Sweden? Give an account of the affair of Glenshiel. What engineering operations were conducted in the highlands?

2. What occurred as to the malt-tax? Give an account of the influence of the high customs duties. Mention an incident in Fifeshire occasioned by them. Give an account of the Porteous mob.

3. What had been the effect of the Patronage Act of 1712? What act was passed by the church supposed to carry out the system? Give an account of Ebenezer Erskine and the secession. In what year were the seceders separated by the judicatories from the established church?

4. What was the general political condition of the country after the accession of George II.? What was the state of the highlands? How did France act?

5. Give an account of the arrival of Prince Charles on the west coast? Who were his earliest adherents? What occurred in Glenspean? Give an account of the subsequent events, down to the capture of Edinburgh.

6. Give an account of the battle of Prestonpans. What eminent man was killed there? In what circumstances did the march into England commence? What great acquisition was made?

7. In what condition was Scotland found when the prince returned? Give an account of the battle of Falkirk. In what condition was the Jacobite force after it?

8. Give an account of the march of the highland army to Inverness. What took place there? Where did the two armies remain during winter? Give an account of the battle of Culloden.

9. What were the immediate consequences of the battle? What was the subsequent fate of Prince Charles Edward? What legal reforms were carried out?

## CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE '45 TO THE PRESENT TIME,  
A.D. 1748—1854.

Political Events—Sedition Trials—Internal Changes—Courts of Law—Other Reforms—Bankruptcy—Landed Property—Penal Discipline—Political Changes—Parliamentary and Municipal Reform—Ecclesiastical Affairs—The Episcopalians—The Roman-catholics—The Secession Church—The Relief—The Veto Act—The Disruption of the Establishment—United Presbyterian Church—Progress in Philosophy, Science, and History—Progress of elegant Literature—Progress of the Country in material Prosperity.

1. POLITICAL EVENTS—SEDITION TRIALS.—The proceedings which followed the insurrection may be said to have accomplished the union between England and Scotland, not quite complete so long as there were great constitutional differences in the administration of the two countries. From that time the wars of Scotland were fortunately mixed up with those of England, and belong to the history of Britain. The events more especially connected with civil history are in the same manner merged in those of the united realms. It may only be mentioned, that in the year 1793 and 1794 Scotland became conspicuous by some unhappy political trials. The example of the French Revolution had created great terror and excitement throughout the country. The opponents of reform were naturally strengthened in their antipathy, and even many moderate reformers abandoned their views like their leader, William Pitt, and became averse to any change being accomplished at that time. A few of the gentry, and a considerable number of the working classes, imbibing more democratic views, were confirmed and deepened in them by the hostility they excited. Much sympathy was expressed by them with the progress of France, and political societies, among which that of the Friends of the People was conspicuous, were established in the large towns.

It was determined by the government to strike terror into the leaders of the reform party. In England prosecutions were raised against Mr Horne Tooke and others for treason, but these failed, the juries refusing to convict. It was thought that the Scottish administration of justice could be used more *effectively*, since the jurors could be selected and the law was

more pliant. Several persons, among whom were Thomas Muir, Thomas Fysche Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerrald, were tried before the high court of justiciary and transported. There were no doubt at that day individuals who entertained daring intentions against the peace of the country, but in later times, and when people's judgments had become more cool, it was an object of regret with all parties that men should have been transported as felons who only desired constitutional reform, though they had advocated the cause in an imprudent manner. The fate of Palmer, a young English scholar of distinguished promise, and of Thomas Muir, a Scottish advocate of amiable but enthusiastic and impetuous disposition, created much sympathy.

At subsequent times political discontents broke out with more or less violence. From the year 1818 to 1824, some disaffections in the manufacturing districts, which were originally caused by the depression following the war, were aggravated by the unhappy dissensions between George IV. and his queen, who, being deemed an injured woman, became a popular favourite. The most violent excitement was in Glasgow and the other western districts, where at one time something like a little army of discontented artisans assembled at a place called Bonnymuir, but was dispersed by the soldiery. In the year 1820 a special commission sat in Scotland, and a number of men were tried and executed for high-treason—an event of a kind which has not subsequently recurred in the country. At the time when the passing of the Reform Bill, to be presently mentioned, was doubtful, there was a considerable amount of excitement, and many meetings were held, but there were no acts of serious violence. The country took much interest in the free-trade measures, which were brought to a conclusion in 1846, all of them being invariably supported by a majority of the Scottish members of parliament. On the breaking out of the French revolution of 1848, the epidemic excitement spread to Scotland; but it merely created a disposition to riotousness among the working people, or rather among those idle members of society who pretend to belong to the working classes. Still, by some mismanagement, the disturbances in Glasgow became so serious that it was necessary to call out a body of pensioners, who fired on the people. On this occasion the shops were extensively plundered, and it is believed that what the trading and really working classes saw in this disturbance induced them to rally round and protect



the institutions of the country. They perceived that it was the idle and worthless only who had any motive to subvert them, and that it was the interest of all who were industrious, or had the fruits of industry to lose, to support them.

2. INTERNAL CHANGES—COURTS OF LAW.—By the constitutional changes following the rebellion, which were completed in 1748, it may be said that the administration of justice in Scotland was placed on its permanent footing, although some subsequent alterations of a secondary character still deserve mention. The judges of the court of session, fifteen in number, used all to meet together, and discuss with great solemnity the questions before them. They were formed on the model of the French parliaments, where facts were considered along with the law, and there was a habit of carrying on mixed discussions. In England, on the other hand, there were generally only from one to three judges on the bench, who laid down the law, and the facts were usually found by a jury. The debates which occurred on the Scottish bench were thought likely to encourage litigation, since the judges formed opposite parties trying to obtain triumphs over each other. In one case, celebrated in its day as the Douglas cause, this was very conspicuous. There appeared as a claimant of the honours and estates of that ancient house, a young man over whose birth hung an extraordinary mystery. His mother was advanced in years at the time when he was born, and it was even maintained that at her age such an event was beyond the course of nature. It occurred in an obscure quarter of Paris, and the people who could attest it had to be hunted after in the lowest grades of French society. After investigations and discussions in the French courts, the question came on for consideration in Scotland; and as the succession was claimed by the powerful house of Hamilton, the division of opinion on the subject in Scotland was so formidable, that prudent people avoided the subject, or declined in mixed companies to admit which side they adopted. The bench was nearly equally divided, and after a keen debate, which lasted from the 7th to the 14th of July 1767, a decision was given by the casting vote of the president, in favour of the Duke of Hamilton. The decision, however, was reversed in the house of lords.

From this and other instances, it was considered inexpedient that the administration of justice should be a subject keenly debated by a considerable body of men. In 1808, the court of session was divided into two chambers. In 1830, the

number of judges was reduced to thirteen, and gradually a larger portion of the usual business has been committed to individual judges instead of being transacted collectively.

In 1815, trial by jury was introduced to a limited extent, and though its application has been subsequently enlarged, yet it still remains a question how far it amalgamates with Scottish habits and practice. The local courts of the sheriffs have, with the increase of business and wealth, greatly extended the sphere of their operations. Besides their ordinary judicial business, they hold courts for adjudicating in small debt cases. The amount on which they could thus adjudicate was formerly limited to a hundred pounds Scots, or £8, 6s. 8d.; but in 1853 it was raised to £12; and at the same time the powers of the sheriffs were reconstructed and enlarged, while their emoluments were increased.

**3. OTHER REFORMS—BANKRUPTCY—LANDED PROPERTY—PENAL DISCIPLINE.**—During these judicial changes many reforms were carried out in other departments of the law. The bankruptcy system was remodelled in 1839, and nearly at the same time restrictions were placed on the capricious use of imprisonment for debt, while new remedies were given against the property of debtors. After many inquiries into the method of holding and transmitting property in land, the cumbrous feudal usages by which it was found to be restricted were seen to cause serious evils, by making questions about the possession of property complicated and obscure, and surrounding transactions, even about small estates, with heavy expenses. A series of acts to remedy these defects were prepared and carried by an eminent practical lawyer in the year 1848. At the same time he completed a measure for restraining entails, especially in their oppressive operation against creditors. All these measures have been productive of great public utility. It was found that the jails and prisons which were the means of administering penal discipline were in an obsolete or decayed condition. They were under irresponsible local management, and there was an absence of uniformity in their arrangements which made imprisonment no punishment at all in some places, and a severer punishment than the judge intended in others. The buildings themselves were old, unhealthy, and unsafe. In 1839, the system of prison discipline was placed on a uniform footing under the management of local boards, rendered effective and responsible by general superintendence.

In 1845, a somewhat similar alteration was made in the

poor law. While the defect of the English system was supposed to lie in wasteful extravagance, that of Scotland was on so sordid a scale that it did not meet the proper objects of a poor law, which is that of securing every member of the community from the chance of absolute starvation. In England it was said that dependence on a too profuse system made the poor improvident; while in Scotland it was asserted that a certain amount of recklessness was caused by the feeling of insecurity in the humbler classes, and the extreme wretchedness of those receiving pauper relief. The English system was rendered more stringent in 1834. But it was seen that, though economized, the expenditure was still on a scale far beyond that of Scotland in proportion to the relative population of the two countries, and when every allowance was made for differences in social condition. It was observed that either the English system, though very much retrenched, must be considered as a wasteful extravagance, or else that the Scottish system must be too parsimonious. In 1845, accordingly, a new poor law for Scotland was enacted, and its administration was committed to local boards, under the superintendence of a board of supervision. The system has passed through a hard ordeal, for commercial convulsions in 1847 were accompanied by a deficiency of the potato crop, which impoverished a large portion of the highlands. It is in general the unfortunate tendency of any system of pauper relief that the expenditure is perpetually on the increase. This was unhappily what was exhibited during the potato disease and the commercial panic; but, since the year 1850, the country has had the satisfaction of observing a gradual decrease of the annual amount collected and expended for the relief of the poor.

4. POLITICAL CHANGES—PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.—After the rebellion of 1745, and the legislative measures by which it was immediately followed, it may be said that Scotland underwent no great constitutional change until the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. By that measure the number of representatives for Scotland was raised from forty-five to fifty-three—thirty being for counties and twenty-three for burghs. In the former, the practice of the election law had led to the franchise being limited to the small number of persons who were freeholders of a certain standard,—that is to say, feudatories directly holding of the crown. By the ingenuity of lawyers the freehold *right* was entirely separated either from the ownership or the

occupancy of the land, and it became in this shape an article of commerce; so that a West India planter or East India stockholder, who had never visited the country, could buy a number of freehold qualifications. In the burgh constituencies, on the other hand, it became the custom for the election to be made by the town-councils, and these consisted of persons who elected each other in rotation. At the same time, many large manufacturing or commercial towns of recent origin were unrepresented; while the royal burghs which had the privilege of election had dwindled down to petty villages. It was the object of the Reform Bill to distribute representation more equally, and to give the franchise to a respectable middle class, consisting of the owners or occupiers of houses worth £10 a-year, and of the farmers who paid £50 of rent for their farms. The parliamentary reform was followed by an act for the reformation of the municipal corporations, the magistrates and other office-bearers being elected by a class resembling the parliamentary constituencies, instead of being nominated under a system of rotation.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—THE EPISCOPALIANS.—But the chief incidents which have occurred in Scotland from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century have been connected with her ecclesiastical affairs. We have seen that the law tolerating the episcopal worship required the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to the Hanover succession. Some of them did so; but the greater number were Jacobites, who kept up a correspondence with the exiled house, and managed to evade the law. Many of the episcopal clergymen, indeed, were influential supporters of the insurrection, and made themselves active and conspicuous on the occasion. An act was passed for minutely regulating the performance of divine service by qualified persons only. An unqualified individual was held liable to the punishment of the act if he officiated in the presence of five persons besides the household. But what rendered the law peculiarly oppressive was, that no clergyman could legally qualify unless his orders were held directly from a bishop of England or Ireland. It was the intention of the government thus to extinguish the Scottish episcopal church, which it had found so troublesome, and compel the episcopalians to find pastors in the other divisions of the empire.

The Scottish episcopalians, however, naturally considered their own church as the best, and their clergy combined to brave

the penalties of the law for the purpose of ministering to their flocks. As the danger from Jacobitism, however, decreased, the rigour of the prosecution relaxed. When the United States had accomplished their revolution, the episcopalians there, who were desirous of having a hierarchy duly consecrated according to the laws of their church, applied to the English bishops on the subject. These felt a delicacy in holding intimate relations with a body which had just been at war against their own government, and suggested that recourse should be had to the Scottish episcopal church, whose prelates consented to consecrate bishops for the United States. Relying on the notice thus taken of them, the Scottish episcopalians exerted themselves for the repeal of the penal laws, and in the year 1792 were at last successful.

THE ROMAN-CATHOLICS meanwhile were subject to the old penal laws, which were still more harsh and oppressive. Several priests were protected by some of the great families, especially in the north, but they acted with such caution and extreme vigilance that their existence was but little known, and few opportunities were given for the enforcement of the laws. In 1778, when a measure for mitigating the severity of these penal laws was introduced in England, it produced the terrible riots so notoriously associated with the name of Lord George Gordon. They were repeated on a smaller scale in Edinburgh and Glasgow. There was no ostensible place of Romish worship in the country; but a house in one of the wynds of Edinburgh, where the offensive rites were said to have been performed in an upper chamber, was destroyed, along with the dwellings of some persons supposed to favour the relaxation of the laws. A multitude of petitions were presented from all parts of the country against the proposed changes; but, in 1793, the greater portion of the penal enactments were repealed. In 1829, by the Catholic Emancipation Act, many of the remaining vestiges of religious inequality were removed.

6. THE SECESSION CHURCH, which rapidly increased in numbers and influence after the rebellion, was at the same time subjected to internal contention. An oath was appointed to be taken as the qualification of the burgesses in the principal towns, which was so offensive to a large portion of them, that they not only would not consent to take it themselves, but they would not hold religious communion with those who accepted of it. In 1747, the seceders were thus split into two hostile bodies called Burghers and Antiburghers. Both of them were

subjected afterwards to a farther division, as Old Light and New Light Seceders, the former generally adhering to the old covenanting opinion that the principles of the covenant ought to be enforced by the state, while the latter adopted the view that the functions of a church are purely spiritual, and that men must not attempt to carry its principles by coercion—a distinction from which arose the modern class of thinkers called Voluntaries.

**THE RELIEF.**—In the mean time, another secession took place from the Establishment. The presbytery of Dunfermline having declined to admit a presentee presented by the patron to a living, believing that he was unacceptable to the congregation, the general assembly ordered the admission to take place, but the presbytery evaded compliance. It was resisted by at least one of the members, the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, who was deposed by way of punishment for attacking the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory. This occurred in 1752, and he continued to act as an isolated clergyman until the year 1761, when being joined by the son of an eminent divine, the Rev. Thomas Boston, a presbytery was formed. It was denominated the Relief presbytery, as affording relief to those clergymen of the church of Scotland who could not conscientiously conform to the system pursued in her church courts.

**7. THE VETO ACT.**—A considerable minority within the church itself continued to protest against the countenance given to patronage by the majority. During the eighteenth century their complaints had little influence. After the first quarter of the present century, however, they began to gain ground, and while the representatives in the general assembly from the old corporations were principally against them, they received an accession of strength when the system of popular election was adopted in the burghs. Believing that they could accomplish the neutralization, if not the abolition, of patronage, through the church courts, without having recourse to parliament, they carried, in the year 1834, a measure in the general assembly, which received the name of the Veto. Its main principle was, that the male heads of families in communion with the church should have an opportunity of estimating the qualities of every presentee, and if a majority objected to him, or vetoed him, then the presbytery were to consider him as a disqualified person, and refuse induction.

This rule was issued by the general assembly as the su-

preme court, and was renewed annually, as it did not receive the sanction from the local courts necessary to make it a permanent law. It soon, however, became a question whether it was a proceeding within the power of the ecclesiastical courts. Though nominally dealing with the qualifications of ministers of the gospel, it was maintained to be in reality an abolition or modification of the law of patronage, which was a civil right that could only be affected by a legislative enactment. The point was first tried in the presbytery of Auchterarder, where a congregation vetoed a presentee, and the church courts giving effect to the veto, he was rejected. The courts of law found that their proceedings were illegal, and that they were responsible to the party affected for the consequences of them. In other cases, recourse was had to the courts of law to prohibit the ecclesiastical courts from putting the veto law in execution. The case of Strathbogie, in the north, had a different character. The majority of the presbytery were opposed to the enforcement of the veto act. They were instructed by the higher church courts to enforce it, but they resolved to adhere to the course indicated by the civil authorities. They were at first suspended from their functions as ecclesiastical offenders, and then they were deposed by the general assembly; but the courts of law protecting them from the enforcement of these sentences, there came to be two presbyteries of Strathbogie, the one obeying the civil and the other the ecclesiastical courts.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.—Through these and other cases, a long and costly system of litigation was carried on, in which the views adopted by the court of session were confirmed in the house of lords. The ministers of the crown refused to attempt any special interference with the cause of the dispute, and in the year 1842 the general assembly adopted a solemn "claim, declaration, and protest against the encroachments of the court of session." It was now, however, clear that the contest could go on no longer within the establishment. It was anticipated that in the assembly of 1843 there would be a majority against the veto act, and its friends made an arrangement for seceding. Accordingly, at the opening of the proceedings a protest was read from 121 ministers and 73 elders, who afterwards left the assembly in procession, and proceeded to hold an assembly of their own under the presidency of the celebrated Dr Chalmers. They

thus formed the Free Church, which now numbers about 760 congregations, and obtains from the contributions of its members a revenue exceeding a quarter of a million annually.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—While this disruption, as it was termed, was in progress, other presbyterian bodies were becoming consolidated. The dispute between the burghers and antiburghers in the Secession Church had died out, and the new-light party prevailing, left but a small minority who called themselves the Original Secession. The Relief Church having at the same time greatly enlarged itself, a community of principles and feelings suggested the propriety of amalgamating it with the Secession. The junction was accomplished in 1847. In the year 1852, another amalgamation was formed by a junction of a considerable portion of the Original Seceders with the Free Church.

8. PROGRESS IN PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND HISTORY.—It may be considered that the extinction of the rebellion of 1745 was the dawn of a restoration of letters in Scotland. From the period of the union of the crowns, the country seemed almost to abandon the establishment of a vernacular literature, and her language became provincial rather than national. For some time afterwards, the literary triumphs of Scottish authors were chiefly confined to the Latin tongue. But during the seventeenth century this gradually ceased to be the accepted means of communication among the learned throughout Europe, and each nation began to cultivate a literature of its own.

In competing with England in her own language, Scotland was subjected to many difficulties, but they were finally overcome; and at the present day the literature of Great Britain owes a fair proportion of its character to the exertions of Scottish authors. In the middle of the last century, David Hume astonished the literary world by the originality, subtlety, and vast extent of his philosophical investigations. As they showed that the foundations on which human knowledge had been generally laid were false and treacherous, an apprehension was felt that the principles of all sound belief would be undermined, and some zealous and able men set themselves to re-construct the system on a sounder basis. Hence it is that we possess the remarkable school of Scottish metaphysicians, which has included Thomas Reid, Adam Smith, Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown, and whose labours have been compared and incorporated with those of the contempo-



rary German school through the erudition of Sir William Hamilton.

At the same time there arose a brilliant school of historians, of which Hume also was the leader. Its principle was neither bare narrative nor the abstract philosophy of history, but an adjustment of the philosophy to the current of events, separating those which were large and influential from trifling details, and showing the bearing of the whole on human destinies. In this school Robertson, the historian of Scotland and of the feudal ages in Europe, excelled his master. Among others of less yet still considerable eminence, were Henry, Ferguson, Dalrymple, Laing, and Smollett—who, however, enjoyed a larger reputation in fictitious literature. Others, such as Pinkerton and George Chalmers, followed the track of historical investigation, chiefly as antiquaries or archæologists, and in this capacity they did much to elucidate the early history of Scotland, and clear it from fable.

Perhaps, however, the chief distinctive triumph of Scottish intellect in the eighteenth century was the establishment of the school of political economy which has done so much of late years to control the affairs of men. Here also Hume led the way; but his general speculations and indications might have been all forgotten but for their elaborate and successful application to the practical business of life in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. It has rarely happened that a new department of human knowledge has been thus rapidly brought to maturity. We may trace to the completeness of Adam Smith's elucidation the hold which the doctrines of political economy have now taken among the most civilized of mankind. This work gave a strong impulse to the study in the author's own country, and served in a great measure to make economic science a favourite pursuit of the Scottish mind.

The natural sciences in Scotland soon counted many distinguished men. The Monros founded her school of medicine, in which they were followed by Cullen, Duncan, and the Bells. Black created a new school in chemistry. Geology received the elucidation of Playfair, Hutton, and Hall. James Watt perfected the steam-engine; while M'Laren, Stuart, and many others became eminent in the less obvious labours of the exact sciences.

9. PROGRESS OF ELEGANT LITERATURE.—In elegant literature the country boasted early in the last century of at least one great poet in James Thomson, whose pictures of nature have

rarely been excelled in their power and truth. Home, the author of Douglas and other tragedies, had a reputation in his day which placed him second only to Shakspeare; but though he was certainly a man of remarkable talent, posterity has not preserved for him the rank assigned by his contemporaries. Before it was finally abandoned, the Scottish language was destined to achieve at least one brilliant triumph. A few poets had still employed many of the peculiarities of their national tongue to impart a quaintness, and in some measure, too, a local impressiveness, to their efforts, and among the most successful of these was Allan Ramsay. It was reserved, however, for the peasant poet, Burns, to show the power and pathos of which the language was capable in the hands of a great genius. He has tempted many to study the peculiarities of the Scottish dialect, who would not have been otherwise induced so to occupy themselves, and thus he has in some measure contributed to the lingering hold which it still retains on literature. It was the high genius of Burns, however, not the dialect which he employed, that gave his productions their charm; and probably if his education had made the literary language instead of the provincial tongue of his country his familiar speech, his works might have had a still more wide and enduring fame.

The dialect, as it had now become, of Scotland, was applied by Sir Walter Scott to a more legitimate service, as the medium through which his fictitious characters might be supposed to address each other. By an accurate study of the colloquial language of the country, he was enabled to give his wonderful narratives a degree of originality, power, and freshness, unknown before in that department of authorship. Of that eminent school of literature of which he was the head, it will be unnecessary here to speak. As a part of the history of the country, it is too recent not to be generally known; and for a critical examination of its character and its connexion with literature in general, reference may be made to the History of English Literature by Professor Spalding.

10. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY IN MATERIAL PROSPERITY.—During the course of these intellectual triumphs, Scotland rapidly increased in physical prosperity. Her progress may be seen not only in her many new towns, but in comparing with the remains of old Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, the magnificent streets and squares added to them within the past century. The progress of manufactures, towards the close

of the eighteenth century, was more rapid in Scotland than in England, for the early poverty of the country making provisions cheaper and wages lower, the capitalists of the south were tempted to create establishments in Scotland in addition to those of native origin. Hence the prosperity of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, of Dundee and Aberdeen, with many minor manufacturing districts. Of the large increase of general trade, perhaps the best notion can be formed from the following fact. In 1735, the tonnage of vessels belonging to Scotland was estimated at 12,342; in 1851, it had reached 536,266. But it is by a comparison of this increase with that of England that a proper notion of the relative progress of the two countries can be formed. The tonnage of England rose at the same time from 476,941 to 2,803,052. It will be seen how much more rapid was the increase in Scotland. In 1735, her shipping was about a fortieth of that of the sister country—in the middle of the present century it had become nearly a fifth.

The progress of agriculture was perhaps still more remarkable. Had Scotland remained a separate country, she would have probably been passing statute after statute for her protection, by prohibiting or restraining the importation of English produce. But she took the much wiser course of trying to excel her neighbour in her own market. Over many local disadvantages in the character of the soil, and the neglect of husbandry caused by the necessity of defending the country against England, enterprise and skill at length triumphed, and districts which were once covered with quagmire, heather, and rock, are now coated with rich land, waving in autumn with abundant grain. The difficulties to be overcome required so much scientific skill, that the practice of the Scotch founded a school of agriculture, and the farmer instead of a clown became a man of science. Traversed by railways and roads, the once barren lowlands of Scotland now resemble the fruitful territory of England, while the highland districts have been applied to their legitimate use as pasture. On the whole, in point of individual wealth, comfort, and the elements of civilized enjoyment, there is now scarcely any difference between the Englishman and the Scotsman; while the latter may indulge in the proud reflection, that by the energy and ability of his countrymen, they have in a hundred years of tranquillity brought themselves up to the level which their neighbours took centuries to reach.

## EXERCISES.

1. What may be said to have completed the union of England and Scotland? What occasioned the political discontent of 1793-94? What trials then occurred? Give a general notice of the course of political feeling since that date.
2. What was the peculiar constitution of the court of session? Mention an instance of the division of opinion caused by it. What changes were made in it? What other changes were made in the courts of law?
3. What law reform took place in 1839? What was done as to landed property? How was the state of penal discipline amended? Give an account of the alteration in the poor law with reference to that made in England.
4. When did the reform act pass? What increase did it make in the number of members? What change did it make in the counties? What change did it make in the burghs? What measure followed it?
5. What was the condition of the episcopalian community? How did they obtain relief? What was remarkable in the history of the Roman-catholics?
6. What division took place among the seceders in 1747? What subsequent division arose? Give an account of the origin of the Relief Church.
7. When was the Veto Act passed? What was its main principle? What kind of proceeding took place in relation to it? What was the result? What union of churches followed the disruption of the Establishment?
8. Give an account of the position in which Scotland stood in reference to language. Who belonged to the school of Scottish metaphysicians? Mention the names of some historians. What was the principal achievement of Scottish intellect? Who became distinguished in the natural sciences?
9. Mention a great poet of the early part of last century. Mention a celebrated dramatist. What were the relative merits of Ramsay and Burns? How did Scott employ his native dialect?
10. How may the material progress of the country be seen? Whence was the special cause of the prosperity of the manufacturing districts? Mention a fact showing the remarkable increase of shipping. What is noticeable about Scottish agriculture?

THE END.

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